**NOVEMBER 27, 2006** 

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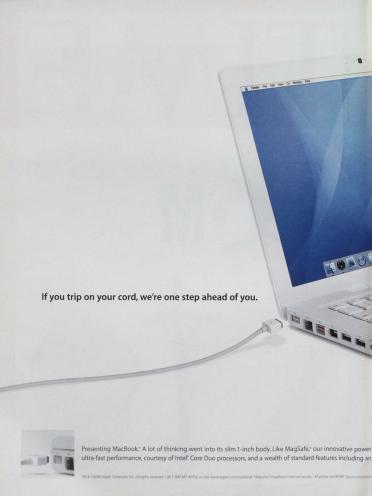
THE POPE CONFRONTS

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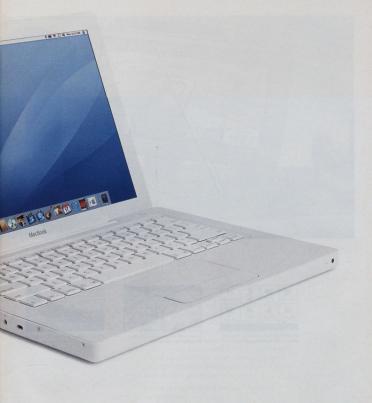
How Benedict XVI's first visit to a Muslim nation could reshape the debate between Islam and the West

BY DAVID VAN BIEMA & JEFF ISRAELY









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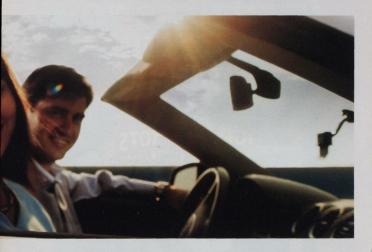


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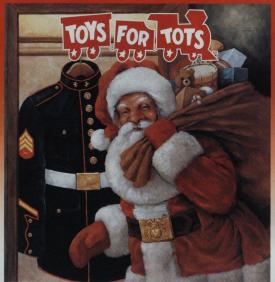
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They were all smiles at the end, but in the leadership brawl, Pelosi did not back Hoyer



Pope Benedict has become as much a lightning rod as a moral leader. Now, on his visit to Turkey, will he press his case against Islamic violence-or, having seen the fury his words can spark, back away from the clash of civilizations? Whether he enrages or engages, this trip is likely to define his papacy









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LAST WEEK'S MOST VIEWED

1. Charges Against Rumsfeld **4 2.** The All-TIME 100 Albums 3. The Pope Lavs Down the Law on

Celibacy 4. Pelosi Learns a Lesson 5. Inside Pelosi's Power Play



#### TOP WEB VIDEOS

Over 70,000 videos are uploaded to YouTube each day. Which are your favorites? Go to time.com/videos to let us know, and we'll publish a list of the top 10 viral videos in December. Please include links so we can watch too





#### PICTURE OF THE WEEK

This image of crosses prepared at London's Westminster Abbey for the commemoration of the end of World War I was our viewers' favorite last week. To see more photos, go to time.com/potw



Blood Diamond raises many questions about diamond rings. But should women want one in the first place? Read two points of view and add your own at



#### My name EUEN DEGENERES

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SUD-9

## 10 QUESTIONS FOR Emilio Estevez

e is best known for his parts in the Brat Pack movies *The Breakfast Club* and *St. Elmo's Fire* and, of course, Disney's *Mighty Ducks* kiddle trilogy. But now Emilio Estevez, 44, has taken on a weightier role as writer and director of the new film *Bobby*, about the day that Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated. Estevez, a lifelong R.F.K. buff, talked with TIME's Julie Rawe about the pleasures of C-SPAN, the perils of focus groups and the downside to having a famous father.

You were 6 when Bobby Kennedy was gunned down at the Ambassador Hotel. Do you remember hearing the news? I remember running upstairs and waking both of my parents and telling them. The following year, when we relocated from New York to Los Angeles. the very first stop that we made was the Ambassador. I remember my father [Martin Sheen] walking us through the lobby and the ballroom and listening to him explain that this is where it happened, this is the place where the music died.

This is hardly a plot spoiler, but the movie ending is a real downer. What do you want viewers to come away with after seeing Bobby? The death of Bobby Kennedy was the death of decency in America, the death of formality and manners, the death of dreams and of hope. Politicians no longer speak from the heart. They are focus-grouped and packaged in a way that I think the public can sniff out. The movie can serve as a reminder that there was a time when our leaders were trustworthy, when they weren't mouthpieces for special interests.

Do you think the world would be much different if R.E.K. had lived? I do. We would have been out of Vietnam a lot sooner. There would've been a better chance for peace in the Middle



East, since that was on his agenda, and I think we would be a more united nation than the divided nation we've become. I don't think he would have talked about red states or blue states.

Is it hard being an idealist in Hollywood? Yes and no. I am optimistic, I am idealistic and I am earnest, and sometimes that flies in the face of the current resignation and cynical culture that we live in. So how hard was it to get this movie made? Did you have to call in a lot of favors? It wasn't necessarily favors because I never wanted to be that guy—the actor-writer-producer-director who always has his script in his car. And because I've never been that guy, I was able to call the agents and make the offers. And actors who normally say no to more money than the entire budget of this movie were swing vest of the

spirit of Bobby Kennedy, and they were saving yes for free.

Bobby includes a chaotic scene during the California primary [Kennedty was shot that night at a victory party] in which voters are warned that a new type of ballot comes with the risk of sandra like hanging chade. Right. This was the first time [punch-card] voting machines had been used in Los Angeles. [News footage showed] massive confusion, especially among the elderly, as to how to use this newfangled device. It was just so curious and saidy relevant.

What do you think of campaign coverage today? Campaign advisers need to let the candidates be themselves. Had Al Gore been allowed to be Al Gore and not been focusgrouped to death, we might have been able to hear his message about the environment in 2000 On the other hand it's difficult for candidates when the gaffe squad is out in full effect, waiting for candidates to slip up. Then they spend the next five days doing damage control, so the message is lost,

Do you watch The Daily Show or Stephen Colbert? I'm a C-SPAN fan, actually.

No filtering, eh? I love not having a filter, and I love watching the House of Commons. We could take a few lessons from the lively debate the fellas across the pond engage in. It's certainly more entertaining.

When you were trying to keep the Ambassador from being torn down so you could film the movie there, you fad was lobbying on behalf of the Kennedy family to basten the demolitions on a school could be built on that site. Maybe you two should chair from time to time, have lunch. [Laughs.] We have open lines of communication. This is just one thing that slipped through the cracks.



### ADVAIR® significantly improves lung function to help you breathe better."

If you have COPD associated with chronic bronchitis, ADVAIR 250/50 may help.

ADVAIR is different from other COPD medications. ADVAIR is the only product with an anti-inflammatory and a bronchodilator working together to improve lung function.

> Get your first full prescription FREE! Go to AdvairCOPD.com or call 1-800-987-4900.

Ask your doctor about ADVAIR today.

The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined Important Information: ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is approved for controlling symptoms and preventing wheezing in adults with COPD associated with chronic bronchitls. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. You should only take 1 inhalation of ADVAIR twice a day. Taking higher doses will not provide additional benefits but may increase your chance of certain side effects. Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with ADVAIR. Patients at risk for developing bone loss (osteoporosis) and some eye problems

(cataracts or glaucoma) should be aware that use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR, may increase your risk.

You should consider having regular eye exams. ADVAIR does not replace fast-acting inhalers for acute symptoms. \*Measured by a breathing test in people taking ADVAIR 250/50, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 250 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg. Your results may vary.









Information about ADVAIR DISKUS

#### ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50, 250/50, 500/50 (fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta, agonist medicines such as salmeterol (one of the medications in ADVAIR\*) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fastdoctor to have one prescribed for you.

#### What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR: Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled br belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta, agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR

#### For Asthma . ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older ADVAIR

- should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications. . The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled
- old is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older. For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined

#### Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not cossible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an altergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are altergic to ADVAIR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions are when you experience one or more of the following: choking, breathing s; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or wells on the skin

#### Tell your doctor about the following:

- . If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time), it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately, . If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day). Your doctor may tell you to
- stop the regular use of these medications. If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you. . If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week
- If you have been on an oral steroid. like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful. as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral
- steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, conjunctivitis, eczema, arthritis, and eosinophilic conditions. Symptoms of an eosinophilic condition can include rash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these sympto Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life
- threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention. . If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure. ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood
- pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness. If you have seizures, overactive thyroid gland, liver problems, or are sensitive to certain medications for breathing . If your breathing problems get worse over time or if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you
- while using ADVAIR. If your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care. . If you have been exposed to or currently have chickenpox or measles or if you have an immune system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the im-

#### patients using corticosteroids How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR may take 1 week or longer

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse. Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will

#### adjust your medicines as needed When using ADVAIR, remember

- . Never breathe into or take the DISKUS\* apart. · Always use the DISKUS in a level position
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose
- . Discard 1 month after removal from the foil overwrap . Do not use ADVAIR with a spacer device
- Children should use ADWAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor

#### Can I take ADVAIR DISKUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications,

If you are taking ADVAIR, you should not take SEREVENT® DISKUS or Foradil® Aerolizer® for any re

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir® Soft Gelatin Capsules, Norvir Oral Solution, and Kaletra®

#### No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying amounts of albuterol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase ts since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketoconazole (an antifungus medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater steroid side effects. Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta, agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart

attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative. The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methylxanthines (e.g., theophylline) or with FLONASE\*

#### What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

Osteoporosis: Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (tobacco use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAIR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

ucoma and cataracts: Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

Lower respiratory tract infection: Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported

Blood sugar: Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium

#### Growth: Inhaled sternids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents

Steroids: Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of severe stress to your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes he seen with inhaled steroids (but it is more common with oral steroids), especially when taken at higher-thanoften help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids

Yeast infections: Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by their doctor Tuberculosis or other untreated infections: ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with

culosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections

What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS? ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with

#### ADVAIR included:

· Bronchitie · Musculoskeletal pain · Respiratory infections · Cough Headaches • Fever

 Sinus infection . Ear, nose, and throat infections . Yeast infection of the mouth · Nosebleed

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more informati

#### What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is know to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose

#### What other important tests were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit www.ADWAIR.com or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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## The Acclaimed #1 New York Times Bestseller

"Barack Obama is that rare politician who can actually write and write movingly and genuinely."

-Michiko Kakutani, New York Times

"What's impressive about Obama is an intelligence that his new book displays in abundance."

-MICHAEL KAZIN, Washington Post Book World

"[Few] on the partisan landscape can discuss the word 'hope' in a political

context and be regarded as the least bit sincere.

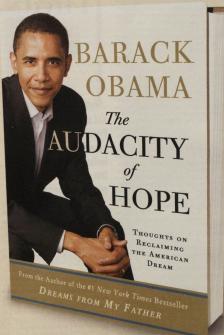
Obama is such a man."

-John Balzar, Los Angeles Times









### **A President in Isolation**

In the run-up to the midterm congressional elections, we reported how President Bush's dogged insistence on sticking to his guns had left him a lone rider. Readers argued over whether Bush is an embattled hero in a white hat and whether he and the nation need to change horses

TIME'S COVER HEADLINE REFERRING TO President George W. Bush as "The Lone Ranger" [Nov. 6] was like calling Donald Rumsfeld Mahatma Gandhi. Don't you know your pop-culture history? The Lone Ranger was a gallant man who helped people in distress. He then rode away not waiting for accolades. The only thing Bush has in common with the Lone Ranger is that he is from Texas.

R. LEE LAWRENCE Los Angeles

I COULD ACCEPT THAT PRESIDENT BUSH is, as you put it, "faltering in Iraq," "out of favor with his own party" and "increasingly isolated." But to refer to "the world he's created" was just too much. The present state of affairs was created by the terrorists of 9/11, not the President.

GEORGE R. OURS Petersburg, W.Va.

LIEF A COACH USING AN OLD PLAYBOOK. Bush has shown how mediocrity can take hold when an agenda begins to get stale. The elections were a clear referendum on his leadership. He seemed to ignore criticism and was ineffective in achieving any of his goals, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Republican Party paid the price on Election Day.

JETHRO SINGER Santa Monica, Calif.

I ADMIRE A LEADER LIKE PRESIDENT Bush, who stands up for what he believes, regardless of the effect it has on his popular support. I believe that World War II would never have taken place had there been leaders like Bush around to stop Hitler in his tracks.

BOB BUCKLEY Benoni, South Africa

BUSH'S POLITICAL ISOLATION IS NOT HIS fault. The central challenge in dealing with militant Islam has always been the tentative resolve of most Western nations to defend their interests and values. Europe, in particular, just sits on the fence and snipes while watching the U.S. take a stand. Real friends would be there



441 admire a leader like President Bush, who stands up for what he believes, regardless of the effect it has on his popular support.77

> Bob Buckley Benoni, South Africa

to help, advise, plan and even make sacrifices on behalf of a shared destiny. These fair-weather friends actually seem to want Bush to fail. What would they do if they got their wish?

> GARTH KLATT Calgary, Alta.

AS AMERICANS FINALLY AWAKE FROM nearly six years of misrule, we are recoiling at the damage done to our institutions, the rest of the world and our future. Let's hope this election marks the first step in repairing that damage—or at least checking the power of those who would inflict more.

BRAD JARVIS Arvada, Colo. THROUGHOUT HISTORY, GREAT MEN WITH vision and courage have stood alone in the face of political opposition. Hurrah for the Lone Ranger!

JOHN WIEDERSATZ Jeffersonville, Ind.

#### This Bud's Not for You

DB. SANIAT CUPTA'S ARTICLE. "WHY I Would Vote No. Pit" [Nov. 6], which argued against legalizing possession of small amounts of marijuana, completely missed the mark. The ballot initiatives weren't about whether marijuana is good or bad for you, they were about whether personal possession should be a criminal offense. Lots of things are harmful to your health—tobacco smoking, fried chicken, trans fats—but is the best way to combat those health dangers to incarcerate users' Aboutley not.

JONAH MUNIZ San Francisco

GUPTA REPORTED THAT MARIJUANA'S SIDE effects include short-term memory loss, impairment of cognitive ability, depression and impaired driving skills. All of these are, however, common side effects of many pharmaceuticals, which most physicians nevertheless seem to hand out like candy. Perhaps when pot farmers start taking doctors out for fancy lunches and golfing trips, legalized medical cannabis will be less controversial.

CHANDELLÉ BATES Murray, Utah

AS A COLLEGE STUDENT, I AM SURROUNDed by recreational pot smokers, but I have chosen to abstain because I have seen the detrimental effects. I'm glad Gupta reported the harm marijuana can do to one's health.

> BONNIE BUIK Evanston. Ill.

#### **Held Captive in Iraq**

"THE DISAPPEARED" [NOV. 6], APARISIM Ghosh's gripping story about the stark reality of the underworld of kidnapping

and torture in Iraq, made me angry. If people in the region had sympathy for their neighbors, such criminality would not be tolerated. Yet greed and willful neglect of morals and humanity rule the day. What a sad state of affairs.

TONY YANG Chicago

I AM A PORMER NEW YORKER, AND THE photographs of missing persons on the wall of that Baghdad police station reminded me of the pictures and notes on walls in downtown Manhattan after 9/11. The desperation and sorrow of people whose loved ones have disappeared is very familiar. The story of Waddah al-Anbar's ordeal as a kidnap victum made me shiver, cringe and wonder whether I would be able to keep my wits in a similar situation. It also got me to thinking about the untold consequences of war. Please keep telling these stories.

ANDY SHERRY

Washington

KUDOS TO TIME FOR PATING ATTENTION to a sad new trend in an already tragic part of the world. Pity Iraqis like al-Anbari whose plight goes unnoticed by their government and the larger world. I hope your story will make more readers stop and wonder how the people of Baghdad must feel when U.S. forces fan out across their city in search of our missing American, when not even their neighborhood police can be counted on to search for Kidnapped Iraqis.

JIM OBEIDI Washington

#### **Bigotry as Comedy**

JOEL STEIN'S STORY ON COMEDIAN SASHA Baron Cohen's movie Borat stated that "any normal person over 35 is going to find [Baron Cohen's character] Borat horrifying" (No. 6]. disagree; I'm 37, and although I thought the film was as vulgar and far removed from political correctness as you can get, I was not horrified. It is a brilliant satirical look at global prejudice and without a doubt the funniest movie in years. You don't have to be under or over a certain age to know a sharp work of satire or pure comic genius when you see one.

Shawn Fitzgerald Melrose, Mass.

BARON COHEN CRITICIZES ALL THE things Borat pretends to admire and uses Borat's faked attitudes and stories to reveal the hidden resentments within the people he encounters. As a Jew, Baron Cohen carries Borat's anti-Sentism to the extreme, thus making a laughing-stock of it while also reevaling the higotry of the unsuspecting people he is fooling. The same goes for Borat's imaginary Kazakhstan he is making hun not of Kazakhs but of ignorant Westerners who overrate their own cultures.

DOMINIK MAUER Augsburg, Germany

#### With Apologies to the Bees

THE GRAPHICS AND ALL THE DESCRIPTIVE information about the honeybee in "The Buzz on Bees" [Now. 6] were truly magnificent. But there was an enormous blunder in the story's introductory sentence. We don't give bees much thought unless they're terrorizing us at a picnic. Bees are not the least bit interested in picnickers or their food. Yellow jackets are the insects that take great delight in pirating our food even as it enters our mouths. It is disheartening to hear people blaming the bee for the bothersome foraging of the yellow jacket.

TOM PERNH-CORBETT, BEKKERER

Moorestown, N.J.

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TIME, NOVEMBER 27, 2006

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#### MY PERSON OF THE YEAR

To help us make this year's selection, TIME asked prominent individuals, including previous Persons of the Year, whom they would choose





The Gateses run a multibillion-dollar foundation benefiting health and education Thirty years ago, Jimmy Carter was Person of the Year. In the decades since, he has focused

spired us and countless others across the political spectrum by tirelessly living his own advice: "The worst thing that you can do is not to try."

**BILL AND MELINDA GATES 2005** 

JIMMY CARTER





Solidarity leader Walesa won the Nobel Peace Prize and became President of Poland

I choose Alexander Milinkevich, the Belarussian opposition leader who was defeated in his run for the presidency this year allegedly because of government fraud. He fights for democracy even though he is being harassed. We should thank him for his dedication and encourage him further.

LECH WALESA 1981

ALEXANDER MILINKEVICH





Huffington, recognized as one of the TIME 100 this year, is editor of the Huffington Post

I nominate Representative John Murtha, A lifelong hawk, he was willing to tell the truth to the American people about the Iraq war and helped make it the central issue in the 2006 campaign. When he spoke out against the war, he followed his gut and his conscience. In the process, he moved the people-and the polls.

ARIANNA HUFFINGTON

JOHN MURTHA





Lovell was one of three astronauts on Apollo 8, the first manned mission to orbit the moon

I would like to suggest Kim Jong Il, the controversial leader of the rogue state of North Korea. His continued defiance of the global community in the area of nuclear testing and his utter disregard for world opinion definitely put him in the category of Person of the Year.

CAPTAIN JAMES LOVELL 1968

KIM JONG IL





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Walter P. Chrysler, Person of the Year, 1928



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## NoteBook

## SMILE, CLASS OF 2006!

A SNEW MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE trooped through last week's norientation, we noted certain traits and decided to put together an early yearbook. Most Popular: Yvette Clarke (D., N.Y.) won 89% of the vote in her race, though she missed the group shot. Here are some other standouts among the RESS.—By Reinne Les-St. John



U.S. citizen in 1959, the year Hawaii gained statehood. She's got a clubmate in former Republican Albis Sires (D. N.L.) who

clubmate in former Republican Albio Sires (D., N.J.), who was born in Cuba.

Most Likely to Succeed John Sarbanes (D., Md.) A Princeton and Harvard Law alum.

Sarbanes follows his father, five-term Senator Paul, to Congress. He has the pedigree and pet issue (healthcare reform) to shine.



Most Athletic Heath Shuler (D., N.C.)
The onetime Redskins QB returns to Washington in a Congressman's uniform. We pick Shuler to captain the House Dems' football team vs. a G.O.P. segural Left by www.estlins

coach Jim Jordan (R., Ohio).

Teacher's Pets
Harry Mitchell
(D., Ariz.)
The high school
civics teacher
knows his way
around government. High
grades may also go to Dave
Loebsack (D., Iowa) and
Carol Shea-Potre (D., N.H.).

two college professors.

Band Geeks
John Hall (D., N.Y.)
A singer and songwriter in '70s rock
group Orleans (of
Stiff the One fame), Hall
is leader of a club that also includes Bill Sall (R. / Adabo), who
was in the swing band Blue County, and Paul Hosels (D. N.H.J.) and

award-winning children's musician.

CENTER JL. CLENDENIN-POLARIS, CLOCKWIBE
FROM BOTTOM LEFT R. ZILBERMAN-AP, T. HOODAP, G. BURTON-AP, D. BRACK-BLOOMBERG NEWS

#### WHAT'S NEXT

### Palestinian Unity Coalition hopes to end sanctions

Steps to dismantle the Hamasled government should begin this week now that Hamas and Fatah have agreed on a Prime Minister. Officials expect to declare a unity government before December.

## Tsunami Safety System to be complete mid-2008 Two years after Indonesia's

deadly wave, Thai and U.S. experts are set to install next month the first tsunami-detection buoy—loaded with seismic and tidal sensors—in the Indian Ocean.





### G.O.P. EXPLORERS

otential presidential candidates used to take their time deciding whether to run; now, you Several Republicans are already forming es. Betting site Tradesport.com gives in the nomination.

exploratory commi the odds for each to	tte
THE CONTENDER	
Joi McC	
Odds: 10 to 11	
50	
Ru	

WHY THEY HAVE A CHANCE He's John McCain!

War hero, anticorruption crusader. George W. Bush's best frenemy in the world. And it doesn't

hurt that the

press loves him.

The G.O.P. base doesn't trust anyone loved by the media, and his liberal fan base may offend a few conservatives. Plus, he wants to send more troops to Iraq.

BUT...

America's Mayor led New York City through 9/11: he has a no-nonsense attitude toward

crime, budgets and basically anything else that annoys him.

family-values vote with two divorces behind him. He has supported gavs but not guns. Republicans don't know his blue side now, but they will.

He might lose the

ds: 47 to 1

Former Wisconsin Thompso loves health care.

Governor and Secretary of Health and Human Services under Bush. He's the original welfare reformer and

Wisconsin, Campaigning on health care and welfare? Not very exciting. And his other talking points-energy conservation and the Iraq war-aren't exactly original.

Odds: 124 to 1

House Armed Services chair co-wrote a bill to put a fence Hunter Odds: 142 to 1

along Mexico's border. Will protect the unborn and military contractors too.

Lack of name recognition may end up hurting his chances. plus he's been tainted with connections to disgraced former Representative Randy (Duke) Cunningham.

66 The Iranian nation possesses the full nuclear fuel cycle, and time is completely running in our favor in terms of diplomacy. >>

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD, President of Iran, explaining that he expects his country's uranium-enrichment program to be ready by March 2007

#### 66 Hope is not a strategy. 39

HILLARY CLINTON, Democratic New York Senator, to General John Abizaid, top commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, during Abizaid's testimony before the Senate and House Armed Services Committee

66 Senator, I agree with you—and I would also say that despair is not a method. 39

GENERAL ABIZAID, in response

#### 66 I consider this his confession. 99

JUDITH REGAN, head of ReganBooks, defending her imprint's decision to publish If I Did It, former football star O.J. Simpson's controversial account of how, hypothetically, he could have killed his ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ron Goldman

#### 66 All of the illegal-alien protesters are waving Mexican flags, and we just got tired of it. >>

PAUL WILLIS, Pahrump, Nev., board clerk, spelling out why the town passed a new law making it illegal to fly a foreign nation's flag bu itself

#### 66 I think the joke is on people who can believe that the Kazakhstan that I describe can exist. >>

SACHA BARON COHEN, British comedian and star of the wildly popular film Borat, in which Baron Cohen's character maintains, among other absurdities, that Kazakh women are kept in cages

es: CNN; Newsday (2); AP; Reuters; Rolling Stone



On TIME Mobile, you can read Quotes of the Day from TIME.com on the Web browser of your cell phone. Go to mobile.time.com

#### Stubbing Smokers A California town's pioneering law

The Belmont city council voted unanimously last week to draft a law banning smoking everywhere except inside homes. Expected to be enacted in January, the ban would be the nation's strictest.

#### YouTube on Ice Site to offer exclusive game clips

Now you can waste away idle workdays watching hockey goons fight at your desk. This month the NHL will become the first professional sports league to offer official game highlights on YouTube.



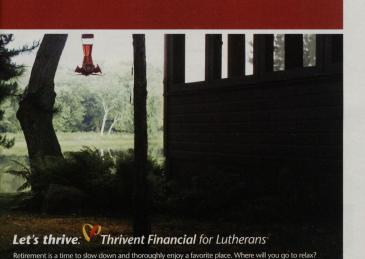
#### Crichton Chronicles State of Fear author's new thriller

His last novel's global-warming theories earned him a presidential sit-down. Michael Crichton's next book. Next, out-you knew it-next week also tackles a touchy topic: genetic research.

Utilizing sophisticated retirement planning tools to help you with a very specific subject:

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As a Fortune 500 company with over \$65 billion in assets under management, we can help you meet your retirement dream. Begin making your plans for a comfortable retirement at thrivent.com.

### IN-FLIGHT INCENTIVES

ET-SETTERS JUST CAN'T CATCH A break. Ticket prices are rising, and U.S. airlines, trying to pump up their bottom lines, keep stripping amenities. So book a flight overseas: international carriers are rolling out unique luxuries that could offer solace to the weary traveler.—By Clayton Neuman



▼ JET-STREAM JACKPOT Ryanair is testing its luck. The budget Irish carrier recently formed a partnership with the Internet bingo group Jackpotjoy.com to offer in-flight gambling—with winnings as high as \$380.000—by mid-2007.





▲ BLAZING TAILWINDS Guess what the new German airline Smintair (Smokers International Airways) will let you do? When flights begin next October, every passenger—and crew member—is welcome to light up, from takeoff to landing.

■ CELLULAR CABIN As early as January, Dubaibased Emirates will become the first airline to let passengers use cell phones during flight, provided they're set to vibrate. And please, no loud yapping with on-ground friends during the in-flight film.



▲ FIRST-CLASSICAL The Spanish low-cost operator Vueling prides itself on landing below industry averages for lost lugage, it also names its aircraft after passengers and occasionally brings a string quartet on board to serenade them.

\*\*LUSTRATIONS OF UTLEST YAME OF SOSETIMAL.\*\*

## NOT SO SILLY STRING IN IRAO

merican troops in traq have become masters of improvisation, like botting up-rigged armor to humwess to shield themselves from sniper fire and shrapnet. Lately, an even more novel item has joined their battle kits. Stratford, N.J., mom Marcelle Shriver recently got a call from her son Todd requesting. . . . Slily String. Marines working with his until in traq had shown the Army combat engineer how it can be used to detect trip where. Before searching buildings, for example, personnel spray doorways from at least 10 ft. away with streams of

foam—and see if they're snagged by barely visible wires, which are often affixed to bombs. The Army acknowledges the off-label use, and Marine spokesman Captain and Marine spokesman Captain Marine trainess to improvise." Shriver is raising money to mail string to Iraq (secrosol cans are haz-mat and costly to ship). So the next time you waste string at a party, remember it could save at life.—By Elim Martens



#### IMPORTS WHO STRIKE OUT

never thrown a pitch in the majors, but that didn't stop the Boston Red Sox from paying the Seibu Lions \$51.1 million just for the right to negotiate with the Japanese sensation. The righthander has even inspired some suspicious lore: his "gyroball," a supposedly unhittable sinking fastball (it sounds like a ruse). So buyer beware: while a few highly paid Japanese imports, like Seattle's Ichiro Suzuki and Hideki Matsui of the New York Yankees, became All-Stars. others have memorably struck out. -By Sean Gregory



During his three-year stint in the big leagues, Shinjo's dyed hair, colorful wristbands and teen-idol demeanor captured more fans than his hitting.

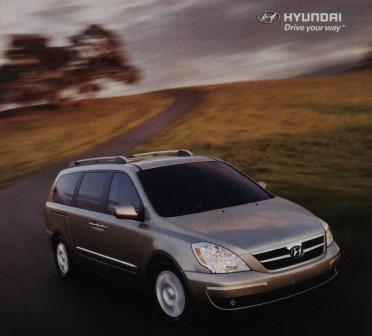


In '97, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani welcomed the Yankee with a Tiffany crystal apple. In '99, owner George Steinbrenner called him a "fat toad."



Hits homers on opening day and spoils ralliles the rest of the year. Spent '06 mired in the minors after the New York Mets shipped him to Colorado,

ELIOY J. SCHECHTER-GETTY



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#### NUMBERS

4 Number of males who must witness a rape in order to prosecute the criminal in Pakistan. Otherwise, the accuser may be charged with adultery. Under a bill passed by the National Assembly, DNA testing and circumstantial evidence could replace witness testimory in court

12 Women raped in Pakistan every day, as estimated by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

\$20 million Record-setting amount Citigroup will pay the New York Mets annually, for at least 20 years, to secure naming rights for the team's new stadium, CitiField. The park is set to open in 2009

\$10 million Previous record annual fee, in a 30-year deal, Reliant Energy agreed to pay the Houston Texans in 2002 for the naming rights to its field

**80 million** Number of homes worldwide that can tune in to Al-Jazeera's English-news network on TV, which launched last week

 Number of major American cable operators that have agreed to carry the network



800-868-3407 Phone number that viewers of Dancing with the Stars were supposed to call last week to vote for Mario Lopez

2000 Number of calls Carmen Allen of Grandview, Mo., says she received in one hour last Tuesday night from viewers trying to vote for Lopez: her mobile-phone number is the same, with a different area code. Former Dallas Cowboy Emmitt Smith beat Lopez for the title

Sources: BBC (2); New York Times; ESPN BBC (2); ABC; NBC

PUNCHLINES





"AThe Democrats say they are raising the minimum wage—because something must be done to protect Kevin Federline's future." CONAN O'BRIEN

64 The U.S. Army has launched its new recruitment slogan, ARMY STRONG, which replaces its previous slogan, AN ARMY OF ONE. Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy is sticking with its recruiting slogan: IRAQ—IT'S ALMOST ENTIRELY LANDLOCKED. The Property of the Property



Citaffarmi Ent. Harrist Triagna



For more political humor, visit time.com/cartoons

64 KFC is dropping the KFC logo and going back to the name Kentucky Fried Chicken—with a new, updated picture of the Colonel. The new Colonel will be more realistic looking. This time he's 350 lbs. with huge scars from his triple bypass. 37 Lay Leno



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Please see the accompanying patient package insert on the following page.

(February 2006)

IMPORTANT INFORMATION: Caduet is a prescription drug that combines 2 medicines, Norvasc and Lipitor. Norvasc is used to treat high blood pressure (hypertension), chest pain (angina), or blocked arteries of the heart (coronary artery disease); Lipitor is used along with diet and exercise to lower high cholesterol. It is also used to lower the risk of heart attack and stroke in people with multiple risk factors for heart disease— such as family history, high blood pressure, age, low HDL-C, or smokine.

Caduet is not for everyone. It is not for those with liver problems. And it is not for women who are nursing, are pregnant, or may become pregnant. If you take Caduet, tell your doctor if you feel any new muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of rare but serious muscle side effects. Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take. This may help avoid serious drug interactions. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function before and during treatment and may adjust your dose. If you have any heart problems, be sure to tell your doctor. The most common side effects are edema, headache, and dizziness. They tend to be mild and often go away.

Caduet is one of many options for treating high blood pressure and high cholesterol, in addition to diet and exercise, that you or your doctor can consider.

Uninsured? Need help paying for medicine? Pfizer has programs that can help, no matter your age or income. You may even qualify for free Pfizer medicines. Call 1-866-706-2400 or visit www.PfizerHelpfulAnswers.com.



#### PATIENT INFORMATION



(CAD-oo-et)

Read the patient information that comes with CADUET before you start taking it, and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This information does not replace talking with your doctor about your condition or treatment. If you have any questions about CADUET, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

#### What is CADUET?

CADUET is a prescription drug that combines Norvasc® (amlodipine besylate) and Lipitor® (atoryastatin calcium) in one pill.

#### CADUET is used in adults who need both Norvasc and Lipitor.

Norvasc is used to treat:

- . High blood pressure (hypertension) and
- . Chest pain (angina) and
- . Blocked arteries of the heart (coronary artery disease)

Lipitor is used to lower the levels of "bad" cholesterol and triglycerides in your blood. It can also raise the levels of "good" cholesterol.

Lipitor is also used to lower the risk for heart attack or stroke in patients who have risk factors for heart disease such as:

- . age, smoking, high blood pressure, low HDL-C.
- heart disease in the family, or · diabetes with risk factor such as eve problems,
- kidney problems, smoking, or high blood pressure CADUET has not been studied in children.

#### Who should not use CADUET?

Do not use CADUET if you:

- . Are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant. CADUET may harm your unborn baby. If you get pregnant, stop
- taking CADUET and call your doctor right away. · Are breastfeeding. CADUET can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby. Do not
- breastfeed if you take CADUET. · Have liver problems.
- . Are allergic to anything in CADUET. The active ingredients are atorvastatin calcium and amlodipine besylate. See the end of this leaflet

#### for a complete list of ingredients. What should I tell my doctor before taking CADUET?

#### Tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including, if you have:

- · heart disease
- · muscle aches or weakness
- · diabetes
- · thyroid problems · kidney problems
- · or drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. CADUET and some other medicines can interact, causing serious side effects. Especially tell your doctor if you take

- medicines for:
- · your immune system
- · infections
- · birth control · heart failure
- · HIV (AIDS) You can use nitroglycerin and CADUET together. If you take nitroglycerin for chest pain (angina), do not stop taking it while taking CADUET.

Know all the medicines you take. Keep a list of them with you to show your doctor and pharmacist. How should I take CADUET?

- . Take CADUET once a day, exactly as your doctor tells you. Do not change your dose or stop CADUET without talking to your doctor.
- . Take CADUET each day at any time of day, at about the same time each day. CADUET can be
- taken with or without food . Do not break the tablets before taking them.
- Talk to your doctor if you have a problem swallowing pills. . Your doctor should start you on a low-fat diet
- before giving you CADUET. Stay on this low-fat diet when you take CADUET. · CADUET comes in many different strengths. Your
- doctor will test your cholesterol and blood pressure to find the right dose for you. . If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you
- remember. Do not take CADUET if it has been more than 12 hours since your missed dose. Just take the next dose at your regular time. Do not take 2 doses of CADUET at the same time. . If too much CADUET is taken by accident, call
- your doctor or poison control center, or go to the nearest emergency room.

#### What should I avoid while taking CADUET?

- · Avoid getting pregnant. If you get pregnant, stop taking CADUET right away and call your doctor.
- . Do not breastfeed. CADUET can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby

#### What are possible side effects of CADUET?

CADUET can cause serious side effects. These side effects happen only to a small number of people. Your doctor can monitor you for them. These side effects usually go away if your dose is lowered or CADUET is stopped. These serious side effects include:

- . Muscle problems. CADUET can cause serious muscle problems that can lead to kidney problems, including kidney failure. You have a higher chance for muscle problems if you are taking certain other medicines with CADUET.
- . Liver problems, CADUET can cause liver problems. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking CADUET and while you take it.

#### Call your doctor right away if:

- · you have muscle problems like weakness, tenderness, or pain that happen without a good reason, especially if you also have a fever or feel more tired than usual
- · you have nausea and vomiting, stomach pain
- · you are passing brown or dark-colored urine
  - · you feel more tired than usual
  - · your skin and white of your eyes get yellow
  - . Chest pain that does not go away or gets worse.
  - Sometimes, when you start CADUET or increase your dose, chest pain can get worse or a heart attack can happen. If this happens, call your doctor or go to the emergency room right away. Common side effects of CADUET include:
  - headache · dizziness
  - · tiredness

• gas

- · extreme sleepiness · stomach pain
  - nausea
- · constipation · diarrhea
- · swelling of your legs or ankles (edema)
- · hot or warm feeling in your face (flushing) · irregular heartbeat (arrhythmia)
- · very fast heartbeat (heart palpitations) · muscle and joint pain

Talk to your doctor or pharmacist about side effects that bother you or do not go away. There are other side effects of CADUET. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for a complete list.

#### How do I store CADUET?

. Store CADUET at room temperature, 68 to 77°F

- . Do not keep medicine that is out-of-date or that you no longer need.
- . Keep CADUET and all medicines out of the reach of children. Keep medicines in places

#### where children cannot get it. General information about CADUET

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use CADUET for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give CADUET to other people, even if they have the same problem you have. It may harm them. This leaflet summarizes the most important informa-

tion about CADUET. If you want more information, talk with your doctor. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about CADUET written for health professionals. You can also go to the CADUET website at www.CADUET.com, or call 866-514-0900. What is high blood pressure (hypertension)?

You have high blood pressure when the force of blood against the walls of your arteries stays high. This can damage your heart and other parts of your body. Drugs that lower blood pressure lower your risk of having a stroke or heart attack.

#### What is angina (chest pain)?

Angina is a pain that keeps coming back when part of your heart does not get enough blood. It feels like something is pressing or squeezing your chest under the breastbone. Sometimes you can feel it in your shoulders, arms, neck, jaw, or back.

#### What is cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a fat-like substance made in your body. It is also found in foods. You need some cholesterol for good health, but too much is not good for you. Cholesterol can clog your blood vessels.

#### What is a heart attack?

A heart attack occurs when heart muscle does not get enough blood. Symptoms include chest pain, trouble breathing, nausea, and weakness. Heart muscle cells may be damaged or die. The heart cannot pump well or may stop beating.

#### What is a stroke?

A stroke occurs when nerve cells in the brain do not get enough blood. The cells may be damaged or die. The damaged cells may cause weakness or problems speaking or thinking.

WHAT ARE THE INGREDIENTS IN CADUET? Active ingredients: amlodipine besylate.

atorvastatin calcium Inactive ingredients: calcium carbonate,

croscarmellose sodium, microcrystalline cellulose. pregelatinized starch, polysorbate 80, hydroxypropyl cellulose, purified water, colloidal silicon dioxide (anhydrous), magnesium stearate Film coating: Opadry® II White 85F28751 (polyvinyl

alcohol, titanium dioxide, PEG 3000 and talc) or Opadry® II Blue 85F10919 (polyvinyl alcohol, titanium dioxide, PEG 3000, talc, and FD&C blue #2)

Manufactured by Pfizer Ireland Pharmaceuticals Dublin Ireland



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#### Milestones

SENTENCED. James Barker, 23, U.S. Army specialist; to 90 years in prison after he pleaded guilty to participating in the rape of a 14-year-old Irang if and the murder of the girl, her younger sister and her parents last March in the village of Mahmudiya, south of Baghdadi, in Fort Campbell, Ky. Asked why hed didt, Barker, who cut a deal to avoid the death penalty and agreed to testify

against his four

alleged co-con-

spirators, said, "I

hated Iragis ... They

can smile at you, then

even thinking about it."

shoot you in your face without

DIED. Florence Tullis, 70, former go-go dancer and biker mother of the severely disfigured Rocky Dennis, whose life was dramatized in the awardwinning 1985 film Mask: of an infection following a motorcycle accident; in Montebello, Calif. As portraved by Cher. Tullis dismissed predictions that Rocky-whose skull deformity grossly enlarged his face-would not live past age 7 and fought teachers who discouraged him from attending public school. Rocky died at 16, nine years before Tullis lost her elder son, Joshua, to AIDS. "You don't understand," she said to

people who pitied her. "My kids lived every day of their lives."

DIED. Joseph Ungaro, 76, journalist whose question at a 1973 editors' conference—about whether Richard Nixon had accurately reported his income taxes—prompted Nixon to reply"1 am not a crook," the line that forever haunted him; in South Kingstown, R.I.

DIED. Ruth Brown, 78, Big
Band singer turned R&B
diva, known for her seductive delivery and
ability to sway between tenderness

ability to sway between tenderness and swagger; in Las Vegas. In the 1950s the fledgling Atlantic Records—for whom she recorded hits like

Teardrops from My Eyes and (Mama) He Treats Your Daughter Mean—was called 'the house that Ruth built'. After a 25-year lull, she won new fans in the '80s, performing in the Broadway stage revue Black and Blue and winning a Grammy for the 1959 album Blues on Broadway.

DIED. Robert McCurry, 83, auto-industry executive who developed Toyota's luxury Lexus line in 1989 and, at Chrysler, created cash rebates to sell cars, now a standard practice in the industry; in Rehoboth Beach, Del. DIED. Lee Gordon, 84, the first U.S. prisoner of war to escape a German camp during World War II; in Menlo Park, Calif. In October 1943, after two failed attempts to flee Stalag VIIA, he used a fake ID tag to enter an outdoor work area, sneaked past a dis-



tracted guard and walked away. He reunited with Allies through a French Resistance group, arriving a free

man in England a year later. In the 2000 TV documentary Escape from a Living Hell, he recalled stumbling, free, into a French café: "The waitress waiked up to me. I looked at her, and I said, Tm an American.'"

OIED. Marian Marsh,
 93, started 1930s
 Hollywood who, in
her short-lived career—she retired in
1942 at age 29—won
acclaim for playing
innocents, memorably
the milkmaid turned
durfully in Seengali
(tagdine: "All Paris desired her,
but Svengali owned her!"),
opposite John Barrymore; in
Palm Desert, California

DIED. Milton Friedman, 94, pioneering free-market economist who won a Nobel
Prize in 1976; in San
Francisco (see page 59).

Making the Best of It



Waite arriving home in '91 after his fiveyear hostage ordeal

Fifteen years ago last week, Anglican envoy TERRY WAITE was released from captivity after being held for 1,763 days by the Islamic Jihad. An adviser to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Waite had been kidnapped in January 1987 when he went to Beirut to negotiate the release of Western hostages. Today Waite no longer works for the Anglican Church, In fact, he no longer even attends services. Fed up with attempts to modernize Anglican worship that he says have "left little time for contemplation and quietness," he began going to Quaker services last month. Waite now devotes his time to charitable causes with personal resonance. He recently started an organization called Hostage UK, which offers support to families of hostages. This week he plans to return to Lebanon to work with children in Palestinian refugee camps. And at the end of the month, he will help launch a telephone hotline for trauma victims in Britain. "We all have difficult experiences," Waite says, "but suffering needn't destroy us. t's possible for something creative to emerge from it."



DIED. Bo Schembechler, 77, gruff, opinionated ex-University of Michigan football coach who won 13 Big Ten championships and over 21 seasons became the winningest coach in Michigan history; in Southfield, Mich. His death darkened the mood of the most important college football game of the year, No. 1 Ohio State vs. No. 2 Michigan, which Ohio State won, 42-39. In 1969, his first year at Michigan, Schembechler sent ripples through the college-football world by leading the struggling Wolverines to a 24-12 upset over Ohio State, coached by his friend and mentor. the irascible Woody Haves. That game lifted the century-long rivalry to a more explosive level; it remains college football's fiercest. An unrelenting disciplinarian, Schembechler, who compiled a 234-64-8 career record over 26 years, collapsed after taping a TV preview of the big game—a show he insisted on completing despite feeling ill, "There are laid-back coaches who are highly successful," he said last week, "I'm just not one of them."

-By Clayton Neuman



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WHITE HOUSE DIARY

Mike Allen

## **Escaping Washington, But Not Escaping Iraq**

Touring Vietnam, a chastened Bush finds parallels to the present hard to avoid

N ONE OF THE LAST STRONGholds of communism, George W. Bush worshiped in a wooden pew at a hybrid Catholic-evangelical service-"a moment," he later called it, "to converse with God in a church here in Hanoi," Earlier. his presidential motorcade had sped beneath a hammer and sickle formed from red and yellow lightbulbs, a reminder that the world does not change as fast as he would like. The reluctant traveler dropped into the capital of his least favorite analogy as part of a sweep through Southeast Asia that allowed him to look commanding, even regal, at a time when postelection Washington is buzzing about the onrushing twilight of his presidency. "Happy to find a receptive audience," he slyly told fawning musicians in Singapore, an

earlier stop, after he answered

their entreaties to tap out a tune

on their Asian xylophone, with

surprisingly melodic results. Bush had come to Hanoi, once the capital of godless North Vietnam, for an annual international forum, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting. Attendance at such summits is perhaps the part of the presidency he will miss least, press conferences excepted. And this time, he had more to fret about than staged intimacy and flabby bloviating. What about a nation that overwhelmingly backs its President when he sends troops into battle, then sours on the idea when swaths of society decide that intervention was a mistake? That was the U.S. in 1968, and it's the country Bush could wind up leading if the public decides that comparing Iraq with Vietnam is no longer so rash and ignorant a thing to do as Bush's aides have been insisting it is for the past three years.

Fifteen years ago, in the flush of his Gulf War triumph,

President George H.W. Bush crowed to state legislators. "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all." But now, as Washington's wise men look for a way out of a situation in Iraq the symptoms of that malady seem to be reappearing. Asked in the Rose Garden in June if he saw a parallel between Iraq and Vietnam, the President replied curtly, "No." But he is now embracing the inevitable, and he answered ves last week when asked roughly the same question at the Sheraton Hanoi. "One lesson is, is that we tend to want there to be instant success in the world," he said. "And the task in Iraq is going to take a while."

So is the modernization of Hanoi, where the streets are strung with drooping skeins of hundreds of electrical wires, some of them powering a single home that has run a line into the tangle. The streets are also clogged with schools of motor scooters, with most of the riders free of helmets but laden with comically massive loads—a quartet of big-screen TV sets, exquisitely balanced piles of lumber, pyramids of water beattle.

Although Bush plans to visit the thriving stock exchange in Ho Chi Minh City—formerly Saigon—this country is still HELLO TO AN OLD DILEMMA? In Vietnam, Bush drew some lessons from its protracted war

officially the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. As protocol demanded, he met with the General Secretary of the Communist Party and was photographed with a massive bust of the revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh. The President said one of the most poignant moments of the trip was passing the lake that Senator John McCain, as a Navy pilot, was pulled from after his plane was hit while on a bombing run. "He suffered a lot as a result of his imprisonment." Bush said, "and yet we passed the place where he was. literally, saved, in one way, by the people pulling him out." In fact. McCain was met onshore by a large, hostile crowd, which hit, kicked and even bayoneted him. Aides admitted later that the President's telling, although accurate, was incomplete.

Behind the scenes, Bush mused to aides that he loved what he was seeing and regretted he would never be able to come to a place like this as a normal tourist. Instead he pursued a fairly restricted itinerary, visiting the U.S. military's Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command and skipping the Turtle Temple and the stir-fried camel. Asked at a briefing why the President wasn't out more among the people, National Security Adviser Steve Hadley said the motorcade routes through the heart of the city meant that the President was "in the midst of the Vietnamese people all the time" and added that Bush "has been doing a lot of waving." His hosts seemed to want to reciprocate. When CNN International began airing a taped package using footage from the Vietnam War to suggest similarities between Iraq and Vietnam, the local feed was obscured by an overlay of music and a Vietnamese flag. For at least a few days, a graying President could enjoy Vietnam instead of wrestling its ghost.





# GET THE MESSAGE?

She followed up her victory with a self-defeating blunder. Now people are asking, Is Pelosi up to the job?

#### By Karen Tumulty and Perry Bacon Jr.

HERE'S ONLY ONE THING DUMBER IN POLITICS THAN PICKING a fight when you don't have to; it's picking one when you can't win. That's why pretty much everyone in Washington is mystified by Nancy Pelosi. Through a midterm-election campaign in which Republicans had tried to caricature her as a fuzzy-headed and dangerous San Francisco liberal, she succeeded in keeping the focus on them. And the first woman Speaker-to-be was pitch-perfect in the euphoric days that followed the Democrats' big win. She said the right things, and she did the right things, like quietly reshuffling her ranks to avoid a showdown between Rahm Emanuel, the campaign-committee chief who delivered her majority, and James Clyburn, a senior member of the black caucus. Even the arrival of her sixth grandchild seemed auspiciously timed to remind everyone of her motherly side. Yet before many Democrats across the country had even taken down their yard signs, Pelosi decided to step on her own coronation by turning what would otherwise have been an all-but-ignored secret ballot for majority leader into a gang war. Instead of quietly accepting that her rival Steny Hoyer would continue to be her second in command, she threw herself into a fierce and ultimately unsuccessful campaign for John Murtha, an old friend whose ethics didn't seem to match Pelosi's talk of a new day in Congress.

All that riside a lot of new questions about Pelosi herself—about her judgment, her political instincts and her real ideology. Was her endorsement of longtime ally John Murtha over Hoyer a testament to her loyalty or proof that she is incapable of letting go of old grudges? Was putting her muscle behind the hero of the party's antiwar wing a sign that she would steer her fractious and fragile coalition over the guardison the left? Did her support for a man who is notorious for significant of the properties of t

POWER STRUGGLE The new Speaker's challenge is to unite rambunctious Democrats behind a disciplined strategy, but does she have the clout?

ping special-interest earmarks into spending bills prove that she didn't really mean all that talk about cleaning up Congress? In other words, was Nancy Pelosi really up to the job?

#### THE FALLOUT

Pelosi will have to answer those questions with her actions in the months ahead. "It was a serious misstep and inexplicable to me," former Republican leader Dick Armey chortled. "I just hope she does more of it." But the Murtha defeat will be largely forgotten if the Democrats under Pelosi's leadership rack up a series of victories on the agenda that she had laid out for her first 100 hours as Speaker, which includes raising the minimum wage, forcing Medicare to negotiate lower prescription-drug prices, cutting student-loan rates and making the national-security fixes recommended by the 9/11 commission. Then there is the biggest issue of all, now that the Democrats are partners in governing and not just critics: charting a course on Iraq. Hoyer insists the phased withdrawal he supports is not all that different from the exit strategy that Murtha and Pelosi are pushing, but his victory tells Pelosi her caucus members will not tolerate her getting too far ahead of them.

Pelosi may now have to reconsider how she plans to deal with another rival, fellow California Congresswoman Jane Harman. Pelosi has already made it clear that she does not want to give Harman the top job on the Intelligence Committee when the party formally takes over in

January. Harman, whose qualifications no one doubts, says she was promised it by earlier Democratic leaders; Pelosi says her term is up. But by shutting out Harman, Pelosi would be setting another trap for herself. The next in line after Harman is Florida's Alcee Hastings, who in 1959 was impeached and removed from his federal judgeship by Congress over allegations that he had conspired to take a \$150,000 bribe (charges of which he was acquitted in court). If Pelosi passes him over, she is certain to infuriate the Congressional Black Caucus, with whom her relations are already strained.



The new Speaker will also be under more pressure to push through lobbying and ethics reform but may find that harder to accomplish. After an election in which exit polls showed that voters are more concerned about corruption than the Iraq war. Pelosi needs to recover the high ground she lost with her endorsement of Murtha, who said he thought her reform measures were 'total crap.' It was bad enough that Murtha's candidacy turned the cable-news networks into a film festival of the grainy tapes from the Abscam string in 1980, in which the Pennsylvania Congressman told an agent possing as an Arnab sheik that he couldn't be

bribed "at this point." But on ethics reforms a contain other tough issues that lawmakers like to publicly support and privately flight, Pelosi might now lack the backroom clout needed to get results. "When key votes like to budget come around, this will make it a lot harder for her to pressure members," and a Democratic Congressman who abouched Hoyer over Murtha. "It's going to be a lot harder for that pressure to be as meaningful."

#### THE FIGHT CLUB

Speaker of the House is one of the most treacherous jobs in Washington. Tip O'Neill



FALSE START Hoyer, left, beat Pelosi favorite Murtha for the second slot. Now she may have lost some leverage for the fights ahead

was the last one to leave the big chair voluntarily, nearly 20 years ago. The four who have followed him have been ousted. Pelosi may have taken a different path to power than her predecessors—she was 47 and had raised five children before she ran for office the first time—but by rising rapidly in an institution where getting ahead has always meant waiting in line for your turn, she ensured that she would have a large target on her back. Now the qualities and impulses that fueled her rise—making bold

moves, keeping and settling scores, trusting only a small circle of loyalists—could be disastrous in a new role that is all about building alliances that can get you to 218 votes.

To adapt, she will have to understand that today's opponent could be tomorrow's ally. Few in Congress have such a memory for slights and betrayals. She still bristles at the fact that when she first went to Washington, many in the Democratic establishment didn't take her seriously and opposed her march up the leadership. As she told TIME earlier this year, "They couldn't control me, so they tried to take

me down." When her former House colleague Martin Frost was running to head the Democratic National Committee after the 2004 elections, he lobbied against him with a determination that all sides attributed to Frost's challenging her for Democratic leader two years before. Asked about those conflicts, Pelosi refused to discuss them specifically but said, "Any-body who's ever dealt with me knows not to mess with me."

And yet she is capable of bringing people back into her fold. When Frost's wife, a retired Army major general, was buried in September, he was touched that Pelosi interrupted her frantic campaign schedule to attend the service at Arlington National Cemetery and then walked more than a mile behind the caisson and riderless horse that took Kathryn Frost to her grave. Afterward, Pelosi asked Frost to visit her in her office. She appreciated the work he was doing to help Democratic candidates, she told him, and added that if the party won the House, she would be turning to him for more. "She could not have been more gracious." Frost says. "I was very appreciative. Whatever she needs me to do. I will do."

Still, pulling together is not something Democrats do welleven in victory. As the PelosiHoyer-Murtha battle was heating 
up, Democratic consultant James 
Carville and pollster Stan Greenberg-both of whom are close to 
the Clintons-loudly called on 
Howard Dean to resign as Democratic chairman, saying the party 
could have won more House seats 
if he had spent its money more

wisely. Liberal bloggers were slamming Emanuel, head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, saying he was taking credit for their victories. And the Blue Dog Coalition, a group of the most conservative House Democrats, was mounting a rear-guard campaign to save Harman's post at the Intelligence Committee. Savoring a team victory, it seems, is something the party has yet to get the hang of.

#### THE BALTIMORE EFFECT

Even as Democrats scratched their heads over Pelosi's judgment last week, they knew where it was coming from. "This isn't San Francisco," said a former Democraticleadership aide. "This is Baltimore." The latter is where Pelosi grew up and where she got her first lessons in politics, from the best teacher anyone could want. When Nancy D'Alesandro was a child, her father used to collect vellow sheets of paper that were stacked and stapled together at the end of each week. They were called the "favor file." That was the way Baltimore's legendary Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr.-later known as "Big Tommy," to distinguish him from his namesake son who also became mayor-kept track of who had been given a job or some other benevolence. The record always came in handy at election time. From the age of 13, his only daughter Nancy took charge of the desk in their home on Albemarle Street, where people came to tell their stories and ask for help.

Knowing that also explains why the lefty caricature that Republicans paint of Pelosi has never quite stuck. Here is not the loopy liberalism of San Francisco, where you can be branded as a right-wing extremist if you vote, as Pelosi once did, for cracking down on rave parties. The politicians in her family were progressives of a rougher cut, rooted in the Depression and the New Deal and in doing things for desperate people who turned to the government when there was nothing else for them to do.

You also didn't last long in big-city machine politics if you buckled at the first sign of a fight. When Big Tommy once thereatened to fire striking garbage work-ers, Jimmy Hoffa himself sent an emissary to tell the mayor he wasn't happy. As D'Alesandro's former press secretary Tom J. O'Donnell recounted the story to the Washington Post, 'The mayor spoke up and said, 'You go back and tell Mr. Jimmy I'm very unhappy with the garbage piling up on the streets of Baltimore, and I'm not ognig to stand for it.' The following Monday, most of the garbagemen were back at work.

That fighting philosophy has defined Polosi's leadership style as well. Her pre-decessor Dick Gephardt was known as "rombutt" for the hours he spent sitting and wheedling his colleagues. "Gephardt would plead with people to do the right thing, and they would know that there was no penalty for it," recalls a veteran senior aide on Capitol Hill. Not Polosi. "Once you cross her," he says, "your life is not going to be very pleasart."

The Speaker-to-be puts it in more graphic terms. At lunch with a group of

Time correspondents a few months ago, she said Republican attacks on her would not work, because she wouldn't let them. "If people are ripping your face off;" she said, picking at a chicken salad dressed only with lemon wedges, "you have to rip their face off:"

#### THE ROAD AHEAD

It was not entirely clear that Pelosi would ever make the family business anything more than a hobby. After graduating from an all-girls Roman Catholic college in Washington, she married Paul Pelosi, whom she met at summer school at Georgetown



University and who would eventually make a fortune in investment banking and real estate. They moved first to New York City and then to San Francisco. Pelosi had five children in six years. Between diapers and laundry, she raised money for Democrats and ultimately became the state-party

chairwoman.

But it turns out she was compiling a favor flie of her own. Not only was she a prodigious fund raiser in a state that functions as a political arm for Democratic cudidates across the country, but she also helped bring the national convention to her city in 1984. In 1987 she decided to run for the seal left vacant by the death of Sala Burton, the widow of Phillip Burton, who had run his own storied political machine. One of Sala's final acts was to give her endorsement to Nancy Pelosi.

In 2001 Pelosi made her first move toward the leadership with a bid for the No. 2 Job, which pitted her against Hoyer. As it happens, the two had interned in the office of Senator Daniel Brewster of Maryland in 1963. That experience also introduced Pelosi to the different opportunities that Capitol Hill offered men and women. Hoyer "worked directly for me and helped me with a number of different projects," recalled Brewster, S3, in an interview last week with Capital News Service. Pelosi was a receptionist—or, as Brewster put it, "an excellent front person."

That first whip race intensified her rivalry with Hoyer and also cemented her bond with Murtha, who managed her campaign. Not only did he get her the votes to win that job but his support also made it possible for other old bulls in the House to begin to imagine a woman rising to the top. The former Marine had a reputation for male chauvinism that stood out even in an institution where the only private rest room adjacent to the chamber is for men. (Women members have to go around the corner and through a reception area to use a facility in Pelosi's office suite.) Murtha's backing "was the answer to sexism in the place," says an aide to Pelosi. "If he didn't have any problem with a woman in leadership, no one else would either.

But Pelosi has also found a way to make her gender a weapon in political combat. She was one of the loudest voices demanding an investigation into what G.O.P. leaders knew of the sexually explicit instant messages that Congressman Mark Foley, who has since resigned, was sending to congressional pages. While Republicans booed her on the House floor, Pelosi insisted "as a mother and a grandmother" on putting the question to a recorded wite.

She won that round over the Republicans, but that victory and all the others will be forgotten unless she can regain control over her own caucus. She didn't just politely suggest that people vote for Murtha; she fought hard. Her lieutenants plied the House with phone calls and none-too-subtle threats, including suggestions that anyone who bucked her might lose committee assignments. After Hover still drubbed Murtha by a vote of 149-86, Pelosi emerged from the ballot room and pronounced Hover's win "a stunning victory." By the look on her face, she meant it. Pelosi went to Hover's party that night but retreated afterward to the downtown-Washington restaurant Tosca with a dozen or so of her closest allies. They entertained one another with stories about an old rivalry between Phil Burton and Texas Congressman-ultimately Speaker-Jim Wright that had divided the Democrats decades ago. Pelosi seemed cheerful and relaxed-anything but war weary. It was a reminder of something else that is true about Capitol Hill: what really matters in a fight is whether you're standing at the end of it.



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## The Revival of Trent Lott

Mississippi's junior Senator returns to leadership and to wars with Democrats and the White House

By MASSIMO CALABRESI

ELLO, MR. PRESIDENT. THIS IS LAZArus speaking." That is how Trent Lott answered a phone call last week from George W. Bush, the man who helped force him out of the Senate's top joi in 2002 after Lott praised Strom Thurmond's 1948 segregationist presidential campaign. Maybe Lott is selling himself short. After all, Lazarus was in the tomb for only four days, but it took Lott, 65, four years to mount

the improbable comeback that culminated in his election last Wednesday as minority whip, the second most powerful c.o.v. position in the Senate. But if Bush, who called from Air Force One en route to Singapore, was spooked by the Mississpipi Senator's resurrection, he did his best to hide it. Lott says Bush laughed off the Lazarus analogy and said, "Well, were looking forward to working with you."

Why would Senate Republicans choose the controversity can clear the an electoral drubbing that saw them lose, among other things, the hard-fought progress they had made with nonwhite voters, especially African Americans? And why pick someone who is known to have an ax to agrind with the White House at a time when the party should re-group and unify?

The answer is that Lott won (by one vote over Tennessee's Lamar Alexander) because he spent the past four years quietly making himself as useful as possible to his colleagues. He lent his old strengths as a backroom dealmaker and a master of arcane Senate rules to sometimes thankless tasks. He not only won back allies that way, but he also sharpened the exact skills that his party will need for the next two years, when its main goal will be to stop Democratic bills from seeing the light of day. let alone the President's desk.

As the whip—a position named after the switch-wielding valet at fox hunts who keeps the hounds in line—Lott will keep his party disciplined and frustrate the Democrats with amendments and filibusters. "He understands the rules. He's a strong negotiant," says New Hampshire's Senator John Sumun. Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich says he's "the smartest legislative politician I've ever met." Even Senator Ted Kennedy calls him a "worthy opponent."

44 There's nothing they can do to me or for me that they haven't already done. 77

-TRENT LOTT on the White House

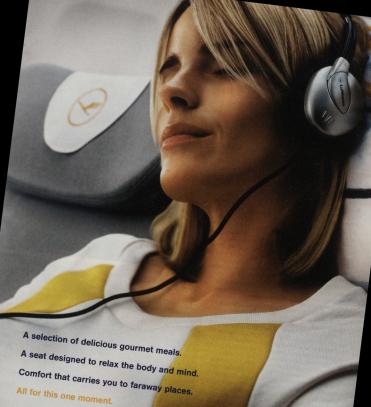
And smooth relations with the Bush White House aren't the priority they used to be. In the upcoming Congress, with every Republican Senator seemingly running for re-election or for President, proof of one's independence from the White House will be an asset, not a liability, especially if Bush's approval ratings remain mired in the mid-30s. As he was campaigning for the whip job, Lott says, he told his colleagues that when it came to White House pressure, 'there's nothing they can do to me or for me that they haven't already done. I'm not mad, but I am a little bit of a liberated guy these days."

The Democrats are the ones who should fear Lott the most: they are desperate to pass bills that will show voters they can govern. That might explain why some

of them are already trying to reach across the aiste to him. While Mel Watt of the House Congressional Black Caucus released a statement after Lott's election saying. The sting of Trent Lott's hurtful words are unlikely to expire anytime soon, Barack Obama, the freshman Sentor from Illinois, seemed not to carry a grudge as he left the Senate floor the day after Lott's victory, "Lottj obviously paid a price and comes back a little bit wiser, as all of us hopefully do after a mistake."

The White House is doing its best to mend fences too. Vice President Dick Chenev, an old hunting buddy of Lott's from their days together in the House. called him soon after the Senate vote. And as I was interviewing Lott late last Thursday evening. Rob Portman, the White House director of Management and Budget, patiently waited until I finished so that he could tell me how great he thought Lott was. "He's very effective," Portman said. "He's a skilled tactician and strategist. A rare combination of unparalleled experience."

By then Lott had moved back to the floor of the Senate, where he was working the room, accepting one congratulatory handshake after another for his return to power. When one well wisher added his compliments to the chorus, Lott beamed at him and called out in his trademark baritone, "Hey, hey! I can still count votes!"



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**Tim Padgett** 

## **There's Trouble—Lots** Of It—in Paradise

Restless locals call Miami a corrupt, exorbitant mess, and many are leaving

EWELRY, AN ACTRESS ONCE said, takes people's minds off your wrinkles. So too has Miami's necklace of pearl beaches and aventurine waters long distracted residents from the city's notorious imperfections. Crime and corruption were a small price to pay, people told themselves, for an otherwise affordable existence so near paradise.

That logic may no longer apply. Crime is down, but the city's old dysfunctions have been joined by acute new economic pressures on Miami's middle class and retirees. Now that the city's jagged growth spurt is showing signs of sputtering, regular Miamians are taking stock of their new city: traffic jams, half-built high rises, struggling schools. And more than ever, they are voting with their flip-flops. They're leaving town.

When Brenda Powell, 61, retires next year, she plans to leave Miami, where she has lived for 30 years, and perhaps head for North Carolina, A retiree moving away from Florida might seem as odd as an Everglades egret flying north for the winter, but Powell, an administrative assistant, says she has had enough. "Miami has become an overcrowded mess," she says. "It takes me an hour to drive less than 10 miles," Joseph and Teresa Burke and their four children are also moving to

North Carolina. Although the

2006 hurricane season, ending

in a few weeks, has been merciful, insurers have been less so. Premiums have been going up as much as 1.000% since 2000 for some homeand business owners. The Burkes watched hurricane and other insurance costs on their Miami Beach house skyrocket from \$3,500 a year in 2000 to \$17,000 today. "I'm leaving everything I've known my entire life," says Joseph. 43, who runs a small oceanfreighter business. "But if the rest of the country was based on the same out-of-whack economic-fluid levels Miami's on these days, America would be a Third World banana

Census Bureau data show that in each year since 2000, on average over 20,000 more residents have left Miami (which includes the city of Miami and Miami-Dade County. pop. 2.4 million) than have moved there from other parts of the U.S.

republic.

**Immigrants** from other countries, especially Latin America, are the only reason

#### BROKEN DREAMS Yvonne Stratford has

not seen any of the affordable housing promised by "this greedy city'





Regular Miamians are fed up with their city's culture of greed and sun-soaked



Miami's population is still growing. Ironically, as more Latin Americans migrate to Miami, couples like Fred and Linda Adam may be switching places with them. The Adams just sold their home near Miami Beach, and are moving to more affordable Honduras. "We could hold on to our house," says Fred, 57. But Miami's spiraling cost of living means "we couldn't afford the other things we like to do here," such as scuba diving. "We'd be twiddling our thumbs."

Today Miami is the least affordable metropolitan area in the U.S. It has one of the highest median house prices (\$372,000) and the nation's wealthiest community (Fisher Island, where luminaries like Oprah Winfrey have had

homes). But a heavy reliance on the tourism industry and its attendant low-wage service jobs has given Miami one of America's lowest household median incomes (\$33,000) and the country's highest proportion of renters and homeowners who spend 30% or more of their pay on housing. It probably doesn't help

the morale of working-class residents that Miami has a way of shaking its wealthy side in your face. On many mornings, rush-hour drivers on packed causeway bridges between Miami and Miami Beach have to idle their engines a bit longer as the drawbridges raise for yachters on their breakfast cruises from nearby celebrity islets. The competition to stay

afloat hasn't improved ethnic

MIAMI VICE

The city is popular among jet setters, but low-wage service jobs keep it one of the poorest U.S. locales

tensions, either, For all the vibrant, crossin Miami, its Latino. black and white enclaves remain segregated and mistrustful of one another. The Cuban exiles' dominion over much of Miami politics (remember the Elián González uprising?) has bred resentment in some quarters. This showed in the outcry earlier this year when the Miami-Dade school board, whose system has a dismal 45% graduation rate, announced that it would spend tens of thousands of dollars in court to ban a kindergarten book about Cuba that it

says isn't tough enough on Fidel Castro.

Even though the city of Miami has the third worst poverty rate in the nation, there have been few credible attempts to help the lowest earners find housing. One problem is weak government oversight of developmenta sign, some complain. that Miami's sun-soaked complacency has addled its political leaders as well. "Planning is disdained as the enemy here," says Gihan Perera, director of the Miami Workers Center. Local anger boiled over recently at a housing scandal that Perera's group helped the Miami Herald expose: Miami-Dade's government housing agency paid millions of dollars to politically connected developers for low-income projects that were never built or were used to construct private condominiums instead. "This is a greedy city," says Yvonne Stratford, 52, an unemployed seafood-warehouse worker who had hoped to live in one of the new low-income units.

Imagine Miami, a private community-development project, recently asked some 1,600 randomly selected residents to list what they thought were the top "Miami values" What was the No. 1 value? Corruption. "[Miamians] don't trust their leaders or each other," says the group's founder Daniella Levine. When it comes to that

problem, and to many others,

Miami-Dade Mayor Carlos Alvarez says he knows where to start. "The structure of government here often doesn't work," he told TIME. "[Miami] gets ruled in the end by an unwieldy, unaccountable bureaucracy." Alvarez argues that the citizens of Miami are ready to help take their city back. He points to a recent \$3 billion bond issue that voters approved for massive infrastructure improvements. a half-penny tax to build up their virtually nonexistent public-transit system, and a new \$400 million downtown performing-arts center. And a majority of Miamians support Alvarez's efforts to reduce the county commission-which include housing-agency oversight-especially since its members have long run Miami-Dade like a collection of venal fiefdoms. A judge has ordered the commission to schedule a referendum on the issue But in the meantime. Miamians are likely to see more of their neighbors winging north. -With reporting by Kathie Klarreich/Miami

To view a photo essay on the state of Miami today, go to time.com/miami

complacency. "Urban planning is disdained as the enemy here," says an activist



# THE PASSION OF THE POPE

With his blunt talk on Islam, Benedict XVI is altering the debate between the Muslim world and the West. On the eve of his visit to Turkey, TIME looks at the roots of the Pope's views—and how they may define his place in history

By David Van Biema and Jeff Israely/Rome

FOR THE TRAVELING PONTIFF, IT WAS NOT A LAID-BACK TURKISH HOLiday, the citizens of the proud, predominantly Muslim nation had no love of Popes. To the East, the Iranian government was galvanizing anti-Western feeling. The news reported that an escaped killer was on the loose, threatening to assassinate the Pontiff when he arrived. Yet the Holy Father was undaunted. "Love is stronger than danger," he said. "I am in the hands of God." He fared forward—to Ankara, to Istanbul—and preached the commonality of the world's great faiths.

He enjoined both Christians and Muslims to "seek ties of friendship with other believers who invoke the name of a single God." He did not leave covered with garlands, but he set a groundwork for what would be years of rapprochement between the Holy See and Islam. He was a uniter, not a divider.

THAT WAS 1979 AND POPE JOHN PAUL II. But when Benedict XVI travels to Turkey next week on his first visit to a Muslim country since becoming Pope

last year, he is unlikely to cloak himself in a downy banner of brotherhood, the way his predecessor did 27 years ago. Instead, Benedict, 79, will arrive carrying a different reputation: that of a hard-knuckle intellect with a taste for blunt talk and interreligious confrontation. Just 19 months into his tenure, the Pope has become as much a moral lightning rod as a theologian; suddenly, when he speaks, the whole world listens. And so what takes place

#### ON REASON AND VIOLENCE

In his speech at the University of Regensburg, Germany, Sept. 12, 2006

The decisive statement . . . against violent conversion is this: not to act in accordance with reason is contrary to God's nature. [But] Theodore Khoury observes . . . for Muslim teaching, God is absolutely transcendent. His will is not bound up with . . . rationality.

over four days in three Turkish cities has the potential to define his papacy-and a good deal more.

Few people saw this coming. Nobody truly expected Benedict to be a mere caretaker Pope-his sometimes ferocious 24year tenure as the Vatican's theological enforcer and John Paul's right hand suggested anything but passivity. But this same familiarity argued against surprises. The new Pontiff was expected to sustain John Paul's conservative line on morality and church discipline and focus most of his energies on trimming the Vatican bureaucracy and battling Western culture's "moral relativism." out last September in Regensburg, Germany, about the possible intrinsic connection between Islam and violence, the Pontiff suddenly became a lot more interesting. Even when Islamic extremists destroyed several churches and murdered a nun in Somalia, Benedict refused to retract the essence of his remarks. In one imperfect but powerful stroke, he departed from his predecessor's largely benign approach to Islam and discovered an issue that might attract even the most religiously jaded. In doing so, he managed (for better or worse) to reanimate the clash-of-civilizations discussion by focusing scrutiny on the core ques-



#### ON COFXISTENCE .

To a group of moderate Muslims in Cologne, Germany, during his visit on Aug. 20, 2005:

Those who instigate and plan these attacks evidently wish to poison our relations, making use of all means, including religion, to oppose every attempt to build a peaceful, fair and

Although acknowledged as a brilliant conservative theologian, Benedict lacked the open-armed charisma of his predecessor. Moreover, what had initially propelled John Paul to the center of the world stage was his challenge to communism and its subsequent fall, a huge geopolitical event that the Pope helped precipitate with two exhilarating visits to his beloved Polish homeland. By contrast, what could Benedict do? Liberate Bavaria?

Well, not quite. But this year he has emerged as a far more compelling and complex figure than anyone had imagined. And much of that has to do with his willingness to confront what some people feel is today's equivalent of the communist scourge-the threat of Islamic violence. The topic is extraordinarily fraught. There are, after all, a billion or so nonviolent Muslims on the globe, the Roman Catholic Church's own record in the religious-mayhem department is hardly pristine, and even the most naive of observers understands that the Vicar of Christ might harbor an institutional prejudice against one of Christianity's main global competitors. But by speaking tion of whether Islam, as a religion, sanctions violence. He was hailed by cultural conservatives worldwide. Savs Helen Hull Hitchcock, a St. Louis, Mo., lav leader who heads the conservative Catholic organization Women for Faith and Family: "He has said what needed to be said."

But Benedict now finds himself in an unfamiliar position as he embarks on the most important mission of his papacy. Having thrust himself to the center of the global debate and earned the vilification of the Muslim street, he must weigh hard options. Does he seize his new platform, insisting that another great faith has potentially deadly flaws and daring it to discuss them, while exhorting Western audiences to be morally armed? Or does he back away from further confrontation in the hope of tamping down the rage his words have already provoked? Those who know him say he was clearly shocked and appalled by the violent reaction to the Germany speech. Yet it seems unlikely that he will completely drop the topic and the megaphone he has discovered he is holding. "The Pope has the intention to say what he thinks," says a high-ranking Vatican diplomat. "He may adjust his tone, but his direction won't change."

#### APPOINTMENT IN ANKARA

IF THE TEST OF A NEW ACT IS TO SEE HOW well it plays in a tough room, Benedict has certainly booked himself into a doozy. In the racial memory of Western Europe, the Turks were the face of militant Islam, besieging Vienna in 1529 and 1683 and for centuries thereafter representing a kind of stock bogevman. In 2002, after nearly a century of determinedly secularist rule, the country elected a moderate Islamist party. For many in the West, that makes Turkey simultaneously a symbol of hope (of moderation) and fear (of Islamism).

The Pope's original invitation came in 2005, from the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which represents a nervous 0.01% of the country's population. The Turkish government, miffed that as a Cardinal, Joseph Ratzinger had opposed Turkey's urgent bid to join the European Union, finally issued its own belated offer for 2006, But even now, Turkish Prime

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM: A HISTORY OF INTERACTION

589-632 Koran revealed to Muhammad; it shares stories with Judeo-Christian texts

711-718 Arabs conquer Spain, which becomes center 1096-1291 Christian Europe launches the Crusades against Islam

1453 Ottoman Turks take Constantinople, capital of Orthodox Christianity



Minister Recep Tavvip Erdogan has discovered a previous engagement that will take him out of the country while Benedict is in it. Although modest, sales of a Turkish novel subtitled Who Will Kill the Pope in Istanbul? (the book fingers everyone but Islamists) have increased as his trip approaches. The country is expected to place about 22,000 policemen on the streets of Istanbul while he is there. "This is a very high-risk visit." says Cengiz Aktar, a Turkish political scientist. "There is a vocal nationalist movement here, and there is the Pope, a man who likes to play with fire."

Actually, Benedict will probably try to stay away from matches during his successive stops in Ankara, Ephesus and Istanbul. Speculation about what the Pope will say and do on this visit has consumed Rome for weeks. Papal watchers say Benedict cannot out-Regensburg himself, but gauzy talk about the compatibility of Christianity and Islam isn't likely either. Over the course of his career. Benedict has been averse to reciting multifaith platitudes, an aversion that has sharpened as he has focused on Islam. And that's what could make his coming en**ENGAGEMENT** Benedict chats with members of a Muslim delegation from the U.S. last March, following his weekly general audience at St. Peter's Square in

counter with the Muslim world, says David Gibson, author of The Rule of Benedict, either "a step toward religious harmony or toward holy war.'

#### A BRIGHT-LINES KIND OF GUY

IN 1986, POPE JOHN PAUL CONVENED A REmarkable multifaith summit in the medieval Italian town of Assisi. Muslims and Sikhs, Zoroastrians and the Archbishop of Canterbury, among others, convened to celebrate their (distinct) spiritualities and pray for peace. It was a signature John Paul moment, but not everybody caught the vibe. "It was a disaster," sniffs an observer. "People were praying together, and nobody had any idea what they were praying to." The witness, whose view undoubtedly reflected that of his boss, was an aide to Cardinal Ratzinger.

Unlike John Paul, who had a big-tent approach. Ratzinger has always favored bright theological lines and correspondingly high walls between creeds he regards as unequally meritorious. His long-standing habit is to correct any aide who calls a religion other than Christianity or Judaism a "faith." Prior to his papacy, the culmination of this philosophy was his office's 1999 Vatican document Dominus Iesus, which described non-Catholics as being in a "gravely deficient situation" regarding salvation. The fact that this offended some of the deficient parties did not particularly bother him. Notes the same assistant: "To understand each other ... you have to talk about what divides."

That approach includes Islam. In Ratzinger's 1996 interview book Salt of the Earth (with Peter Seewald), he noted that "we must recognize that Islam is not a uniform thing. No one can speak for [it] as a whole. There is a noble Islam, embodied, for example, by the King of Morocco, and there is also the extremist, terrorist Islam, which, again, one must not identify with Islam as a whole, which would do it an injustice." This sophisticated understanding, however, did not keep Ratzinger from slapping down a bishop who wanted to invite peaceable Muslims to a papal ceremony in Fatima, Portugal, or, in 2004, from objecting to Turkish E.U. entry on grounds that it has always been "in permanent contrast to Europe," a contrast his other writings made clear had much to do with religion.

Islam played a particular role—as both a threat and a model-in the drama that probably lies closest to Benedict's heart; the secularization of Christian Europe. In the same 1996 book, he wrote that "the Islamic soul reawakened" in reaction to the erosion of the West's moral stature during the 1960s. Ratzinger paraphrased that soul's new song: "We know who we are; our religion is holding its ground; you don't have one any longer. We have a moral message that has existed without interruption since the prophets, and we will tell the world how to live it, where the Christians certainly can't."

After Sept. 11, Ratzinger's attitude toward Islam seems to have hardened. According to Gibson, the Cardinals in the conclave that elected Ratzinger made it clear that they expected a tougher dialogue with the other faith. After the London subway bombings in July 2005, the new Pope re-

1492 King Ferdinand drives the Moors from Spain and next expels the Jews

1683 The Ottoman siege of Vienna fails, marking the end of its Islamic expansion

1965 The Vatican issues Nostra Aetate, which calls 2001 Pope John Paul II is first Pontiff to visit a mosque, in Damascus, Syria

Sept. 2006 Pope Benedict XVI links Islam to violence, igniting debate and protest



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sponded to the question of whether Islam was a "religion of peace"-as George W. Bush, among others, has always stressedby saying, "Certainly there are also elements that can favor peace." When he met with moderate German Muslims in the city of Cologne that August, Benedict delivered a fairly blunt warning that "those who instigate and plan these attacks evidently wish to poison our relations." In Rome, he removed Archbishop Michael Fitzgerald, a relatively dovish Islam expert, as head of the Vatican's office on interreligious dialogue and replaced an ongoing study of Christian violence during the Crusades with one on Islamic violence today. And he has stepped up the Vatican's insistence on reciprocitydemanding the same rights for Christians in Muslim-majority countries that Muslims enjoy in the West.

All of this led observers to expect him to eventually make a major statement about Islam, although most assumed that it wouldn't stray too far from John Paul's fraternal tone. Nobody anticipated what happened in southern Germany.

#### THE POINT OF NO RETURN

ON SEPT. 12, 2006, THE DAY AFTER THE world had marked the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks. Benedict threw himself into the maelstrom. The unlikely venue was his old teaching grounds, the University of Regensburg. His vehicle was a talk about reason as part of Christianity's very essence. His nominal target was his usual suspect, the secular West, which he said had committed the tragic error of discarding Christianity as reason-free. But this time he had an additional villain in his sights: Islam, which he said actually did undervalue rationality and which he strongly suggested was consequently more inclined to violence. To show that Islam sees God as so tran-

scendent that reason is extraneous, Benedict cited an 11th century Muslim sage named Inn Hazm. To establish the connection between this position and violence, he quoted a 15th century Christian Byzantine Emperor (and head of the Byzantine, or Eastern, Church) named Manuel If Paleologus. Paleologus criticized Muslims for "spreading [their faith] by the sword," both because true conversion depended on reason. "Show me just what the Muhammad brought that was new," Paleologus said, in a passage quoted by Benedict, "and there you will find things only evil and inhuman".

It remains unclear whether Benedict was deliberately trying to raise the temperature. Many analysts, especially in Rome. think he knew exactly what he was saving and regard the Islamic section of the 35-min, speech as a brave and eloquent warning of Islam's inherent violence and of a faithless West's inability to offer moral response. Yet Benedict's argument was slapdash and flawed. His sage, Ibn Hazm, turned out to have belonged to a school with no current adherents, and although reason's primacy is debated in Islam, it is very much part of the culture that developed algebra. Paleologus' forced-conversion accusation misrepresents the sweep of Muslim history. since more often than not, Islam has left religious groups in conquered territory intact, if hobbled. And assuming that a punctilious scholar like Benedict really wanted to engage on Islam and violence, why do it through the idiosyncratic lens of an embattled king in the 1400s who made his name association of Islam with unreason and violence. Indeed, if he had, it would have caused considerable confusion-if only because the behavior of the extremists seemed, at least to some, to prove his point. No editorialist could express frustration with him for initiating the row without condemning the subsequent carnage-and a good many decided his only fault was in speaking truth. Says a high-ranking Western diplomat in Rome: "It was time to let the rabbit out of the can, and he did. I admire his courage. Part of the Koran lends itself to being shanghaied by terrorists, and he can do what politicians can't." In late October, Benedict received a different kind of validation in an open "Your Holiness" letter from 38 of the best-known names in Islamic theology. The missive politely eviscerated his Regensburg speech but went on to "applaud" the Pope's "efforts to oppose the



partly for his efforts at drumming up enthusiasm for a new Crusade?

The reaction to the speech was intense. Small bands of Muslim thugs burned Benedict in effigy, attacked the churches in the Middle East and, on Sept. 17, murdered the nun in Somalia. Over the course of a month, Benedict issued a series of partial apologies and corrections unprecedented in the papacy. He expressed regret to those offended, summoned a group of Muslim notables to make the point personally and disowned the "evil and inhuman" slur on Muhammad as Manuel's sentiment but not histown. He even issued a second version of the speech to reflect those sentiments.

But he never retracted his more basic

SECURITY Outside the Vatican, the Pontiff—above, in the Popemobile—receives protection from a detail that includes members of the Swiss Guards

dominance of positivism and materialism in human life" and expressed a desire for "frank and sincere dialogue." At a time when the credibility of Western political leaders in the Muslim world has sunk to new depths, the letter treated Benedict as a spokesman for the West.

Says a Vatican insider with a shrug:
"Everyone's asking, Did the Pope make a
mistake? Was it intentional? It doesn't really

matter at this point." Whether Benedict had actually intended Regensburg to be the catalyst, he had become a player.

#### THE PAPAL MEGAPHONE

AFTER REGENSBURG, THE MAINSTREAM ITALian daily La Stampa ran the headline THE POPE AND BUSH ALLIED AGAINST TERROR. The association with the Iraq war and U.S. interrogation methods must have horrified the Pontiff, if only because it could undermine the church's honest-broker role in regional conflicts. "It's easy to say, 'Go Benedict! Hit the Muslims!" savs Gibson. "But that's not who he is. He is not a Crusader." Shortly before Regensburg, Benedict had endured Western criticism for repeatedly demanding a cease-fire after Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Angelo Cardinal Scola, a protégé of the Pope's who edits Oasis, a Church quarterly on dialogue with Islam, says the fact "that

represent its past as well, including all the historical violence done in Jesus' name (despite the Gospels' pacifism). Discussion of Christianity's dark hours has not been his penchant. Moreover, the position Benedict took in Regensburg-that Islam and violence are indeed essentially connectedworked as an opening gambit but doesn't leave much room for either side to maneuver. People asked to flatly renounce their Holy Writ generally don't. And Benedict has little give-because first, he seldom says anything he is not prepared to defend to the bitter end and second, if he retreats now, he risks being accused of the same moral relativism that he rails against.

Still, many Catholics are rooting for him to come up with a way to engage without enraging. The widely read Catholic blogger Any Welborn says, "I think there's a pretty widespread fed-up-ness with Islamic sensilogian at Notre Dame, says that "if he doesn't bring up the issue of reciprocal respect for Christian minorities, he's not doing his job," but that he should avoid an absolutist, nowor-never stance.

High-ranking Vatican sources say Benedict will avoid repeating the Islam-andviolence trope in any form as blatant as Regensburg's. Instead, suggests Father Thomas Reese, a senior research fellow at the Woodstock Theological Center in Washington, an independent nonprofit institute at Georgetown, the Pope may take a less broad-brush approach to the issue by repeating his sentiment from Cologne: "He could say, 'You, like me, are concerned about terrorism' and he would like to see Islamic clerics be more up front condemning it." Once over the hump, happier topics should be easy to find. "Quite frankly," says Reese, "the Pope and the Muslims are on the same page on abortion. They [agree on] relativism and consumerism, hedonistic culture, sex and violence, Palestinian rights." Conceivably, like John Paul's first journey back to communist Poland, Benedict's simple presence in this Muslim land may speak louder than words.

Whether this is the way Benedict will choose to proceed remains to be seen. But whatever he does, bold or subtle, the explosiveness of the current relationship between Islam and the West will require him to become a diplomat as much as a scholar. As he strives to assume that role, holding out an olive branch to other religions while fiercely defending his own, the Pope may want to consider the story of a much earlier walker of the Catholic-Islamic tightrope. In the 13th century, during the middle of the Fifth Crusade, St. Francis of Assisi briefly departed Italy and journeyed to the Holy Land to evangelize to the Muslims. According to Christian traditions, he preached the gospel to the Sultan, only to be told that Muslims were as convinced of the truth of Islam as Francis was of Christianity, At that, Francis proposed that he and a Muslim walk through a fire to test whose faith was stronger. The Sultan said he didn't know whether he could locate a volunteer. Francis said he would walk through the fire by himself. Impressed with Francis' devotion, the Sultan, while maintaining his own faith, agreed to a truce between the two warring sides.

Francis' precise methods may be a bit outdated. But 809 years later, his mixtur of flexibility and tenacity could be a useful paradigm for a frank and sincere dialogue in an ever turbulent religious world.—With reporting by Jeff Chu/New York, Andrew Purvis/Berlin and Pelin Turgut/Ankara with other bureaus

#### ON ISLAM AND THE WEST:

From his interview book Salt of the Ea (with Peter Seewald) in 1996:

In the face of deep moral contradictions of the West and of its internal helplessness . . . the Islamic soul reawakened . . . We know who we are; our religion is holding its ground; you don't have one any longer.'

radical Islam can turn to violence does not mean we must respond with a crusade."

The Pope's pursuit of his newfound calling as Islamic interlocutor will be tricky, theologically and politically. Unlike the holy books of Judaism and Christianity, the Koran and Hadiths contain verses precisely regulating the conduct of war and exhorting Muslims to wage battle against various enemies. The bellicosity of some Koranic passages owes much to the fact that they were written at a time when Muslims were engaged in almost constant warfare to defend their religion. But when suicide bombers today go to their fates with the Koran's verses on their lips, it invites questions about Islam's credentials as a religion that is willing to police its own claims of peace and tolerance. As conservative Catholic scholar Michael Novak points out, the Vatican's pacifism gives Benedict unmatched moral standing to press this point. "Being against war, he can say tougher things

... than any President or Prime Minister can. His role is to represent Western civilization." Perhaps so, but then he might have to tivity. I agree that elements of Islam that either explicitly espouse violence or are less than aggressive in combatting it need to be challenged and nudged, [just as] I would like to see the Pope continue to challenge and nudge people of all different religions— Christian and non-Christian—to look at the suffering of people. She thinks that, given the heat he's taking in parts of the Islamic world, his willingness to go through with his Turkish trip is 'so brave'.

But what should he do while he's there? John Esposito, a respected Islam scholar at Georgetown University, says the Pope can't confine himself to meetings with Christian leaders. "He must address the Muslim majority." Seyved Hossein Nasr, a professor at George Washington University and one of the 38 signatories to the October letter to Benedict, says the Pope should deliver an "carnest expression of commonality"—even if it's only the widely accepted observation that Judaism, Christianity and Islam all claim descent from the biblical figure of Abraham, Father Richard McBrien, a theo-



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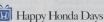
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**Richard John Neuhaus** 

# What the Pope Gets Right...

By decrying the use of violence in the name of God, Benedict is challenging Muslims to confront hard truths

PINEDICT XVTS JOURNEY TO ISTANBUL, PORMERIX CONSTANtinople, is laden with the wounds of history both ancient
and painfully contemporay. The Pope's controversial
Sept. 12 lecture in Regensburg, Germany, quoted a 14th
century exchange between a Byzantine Christian Emperor and
a Muslim intellectual in which the Emperor made some distincty uncomplimentary observations about Islam. The Pope admitted that the Emperor's statement was brusque. But his point
in reaching so far back into history was to demonstrate that problems between the Christian West and Islam long precede today's
"war on terrorism."

Although the West, and most notably Europe, may be less Christian today, Muslims Still view it as the Christian West. For a thousand years, from the days of Muhammad in the 7th century, Islam enjoyed a run of triumphant conquest, interrupted only momentarily by the Christian Crusades. The time of conquest lasted until the failed siege of Vienna in 1683. After Vienna, and most dramatically under 19th and 20th century Western colonialism, Islam was sidelined from history—one of the main sources of the rage and resentment of today's illandists.

The jihadists believe their time of resumed conquest has come. Through terrorism and the mass immigration of Muslims in Europe, the jihadists are pressing for the reversal of the military outcome of 1683. This is the context in which Benedict attempted to make a larger point at Regensburg. He acknowledged that Christians have sometimes had a problem, and he suggested that Muslims still have a problem, in understanding the relationship between faith and coercion. Violence, said the Pope, is the enemy of reason. Violence has no place in the advancing of religion. To act against reason is to act against the nature of Cod.

The violent responses to the Pope's speech reflect the belief of pihadist groups, such as al-Qaed, that their religion mandates the use of any means necessary, including suicide bombers and the mass killing of civilians, to bring about the world's submission to Islam. In an Oct. 13 "Open Letter to His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI," 38 distinguished Islame religious authorities, including Grand Muftis in Turkey, Egypt, Russia, Syria, Kosovo, Bosnia and Uzbekistan, wrote that "Jihad ... means struggle, and specifically struggle in the way of God. This struggle may take many forms, including the use of force." The signers delicately criticized some acts of Muslim terrorism, such as the killing of a nun in Somalia, but failed to address the relationship between religion and politics in Islam, or whether the "maintenance of sovereignty" includes, as radical jihadists claim, the violent re-conquest of Western lands that were once Muslim, Whether out



of conviction or fear of being targeted by terrorists, the 38 did not frontally reject the linkage between violence and the advance of Islam.

Nonetheless, the open letter was framed in respectful terms

and was welcomed at the Vatean. It is noteworthy, however, that the Pope has not retreated from his challenge to Islam. Moreover, under his leadership, the Vatean has taken a much stronger line in insisting on "reciprocity" in relations with Islam. Mosques proliferate throughout cities in the West, while any expression of non-Islamic religion is strictly forbidden in many Muslim countries. In the Vatican and elsewhere, the feeling has been growing that the way of tolerance, dialogue and multicultural sensitivity can no longer be a one-way street. In fact, that shift predates Benedict's papacy. In his 1994 book, Crossing the Threshold of Hope, John Paul II said complimentary things about the piety of Muslims. But John Paul concluded his discussion of Islam with this: "For (these reasons) not only the theology but also the anthropology of Islami svery distant from Christiantis".

The theology has to do with the relationship between faith and reason, the anthropology with the dignity of the human person that requires a free and uncoereed response to truth, including religious truth. God ("Allah" in Arabie), Benedict contends, should be viewed not as an arbitrary ruler who issues capricious commands but as the Divine Reason that human beings, through reason and freedom, are invited to share. Speaking for the Catholic Church, which includes over half of the more than 2 billion Christians in the world, Benedict says that, in matters of religion, violence is the enemy of reason, and to act against reason is to act against God. Challenging the leaders of the more than 1 billion Muslims in the world, he asks them to join in that affirmation.

Father Richard John Neuhaus is editor in chief of First Things, a monthly magazine on religion, culture and public life



Tariq Ramadan

# ... And Where He's Still in the Dark

Benedict's definition of what it means to be European ignores the positive contributions of Islam

NINCE DELIVERING THE SPEECH IN WHICH HE QUOTED A lath centruly Emperor who said the Prophet of Islam had had pointing positive to humanity and had commanded followers to use violence to spread their faith. Prope Benedict XYI has been subjected to bitter Muslim reaction around the world. Benedict has responded by saying he regretted the consequences of his misunderstood words, but he did not rettare his statement—perhaps rightly so. After all, he had simply eited an ancient Emperor. It is Benedicts right to exercise his critical opinion without being expected to apologize for it—whether he's an ordinary Roman Catholic or the Pope.

But that doesn't mean he was right. Muslim attention has focused mainly on the lecture's association between violence and Islam, but the most important and disputable aspect of it was Benedict's reflection on what it means to be European. In his speech at Regensburg, the Pope attempted to set out a European identity that is Christian by faith and Greek by philosophical reason. But Benedict's speech implicitly suggested that he believes that Islam has no such relationship with reason—and TURNING POINT
A painting depicts the defeat of the Turks in 1683, marking the end of Islamic conquest

thus is excluded from being European. Several years ago, the Pope, then Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, set forth his opposition to the integration of Turkey into Europe in similar terms. Muslim Turkey has never been, and never will be, able to claim an authentically European culture, he contended. It is another thing, it is the Other.

As I have written before, this profoundly European Pope is inviting the people of his continent to become aware of the central, inescapable character of Christianity within their identity, or risk bosinit; I hat may be a legitimate goad, but Benedict's narrow definition of European identity is deeply troubling and potentially dangerous. This is what Muslims must respond to: the tendency of Westerners to ignore the critical role that Muslims played in the development of Western thought. Those who "forget" the decisive contributions of rationalist Muslim thinkers like al-Farabi (10th century), Avicenna (1th century), Averroes (12th century), and Chazali (2th century), and Shati (3th century) and Ibn Khaldum (14th century) are reconstructing a Europe that is not only an illusion but also self-deceptive about its past.

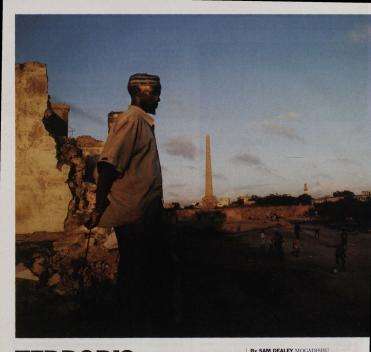
What the West needs most today is not so much a dialogue with the crivilizations but an honest dialogue with itself—one that acknowledges those traditions within Western civilization that are almost never recognized. Europe, in particular, must learn to reconcile itself with the diversity of its past in order to master the coming pluralism of its future.

The Pope's visit to Turkey presents an opportunity to put forward the true terms of the debate over the relationship between Islam and the West. First, it is necessary to stop presenting this visit as if it were a trip to a country whose religion and culture are alien to Europe. Selective about its past, Europe is becoming blind to its present. The European continent has been home to a sizable population of Muslims for centuries. While visiting Turkey, the Pope must acknowledge that he is encountering not a potential threat but a mirror. Islam is already a European religion.

Rather than focus on differences, the true dialogue between the Pope and Islam, and between secularized societies and Islamic ones, should emphasize our common, universal values: mutual respect of human rights, basic freedoms, rule of law and democracy. Though most of the media attention is directed at a marginal mimority of radicals, millions of European Muslims are quietly proving every day that they can live perfectly well in secular societies and share a strong ethical pedestal with Jews, Christians and atheist humanistic.

Let us hope that the Pope will be able to transform his former perception of the threat of "the Other," of Islam, into a more open approach—by strongly highlighting the ethical teachings the religions have in common and the ways they can contribute together to the future of a pluralistic Europe. Benedict XVI should be free to express his opinions without risk of impassioned denunciation. But the least one can expect from the Pope—especially in this difficult era of fear and suspicion—is that he help bridge the divide and create new spaces of confidence and trust.

Tariq Ramadan, a research fellow at Oxford, is the author of several books on Islam, including To Be a European Muslim



# TERROR'S PLAYGROUND

More than a decade after U.S. troops pulled out, Somalia has fallen to Islamic fundamentalists. Here's why it could become the world's next nightmare

#### By SAM DEALEY MOGADISH

N A DUSTY SIDE STREET IN SOMAlia's former capital, there's little that distinguishes Mohammed's stall from the others. A grenade rests against a box of ammunition next to a row of AK-47s, and still more rifles hang from nails beneath a patch of tin roofing. His booth occupies prime real estate in the center of Mogadishu's Bakaraaha Arms Market, and he obsessively polishes his guns with an oil-stained rag in a battle against sand and grit. But few passersby show interest. Once one of the most bustling, bristling arms bazaars in the world, the Mogadishu weapons market is weathering a down cycle, with business a



mere fraction of what it was in the days when warlords settled internecine grudges in the city's streets. Mohammed's average daily sales have dropped from 15 AKs to just three- and prices have fallen by almost half, to \$300. "The only good job was selling guns," says Mohammed, 24. "Now I don't know what I'll do."

In most strife-torn parts of the world, a bear market for weapons would be cause for relief. But tranquillity rarely lasts long in Somalia. Since the overthrow of dictator

LIFE AMID THE RUINS
A Somali man watches
children play soccer in
war-ravaged—but now
orderly—downtown
Mogadishu

Mohammed Siad Barre in 1991, the country has been a byword for dysfunction, less a nation-state than a destitute, unremittingly violent land ruled by the barrel of a gun. Last June the wanlords' grip on power was finally broken by a dedicated confederacy of fundamentalist Muslim militias that fought their way into the former capital and sent the warlords fleeing.

Since then, the Muslim militias, which call themselves the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), have consolidated their claim to Mogadishu and expanded their claim to the country's out. The country's country's south, Meanwhile, the U.N.-backed transitional government is unraveling. Confined to the squalid town of Baidoa near the Ethiopian border, the government is dependent on foreign money and security and crippled by internal dissent and

The fear is that Sommalia, a country with nearly 9 million Muslims and one that the U.S. has long suspected is a haven for al-Qaeda, may fall further into the hands of Islamic fundamentalists sympathetic to terrorist organizations. A report by the U.N.-chartered watchdog group on Somalia, which was submitted to the U.N Security Council last week, says the IcU has developed extensive ties with groups and states steeped

mass resignations.

in terrorism.

The report states that the ICU sent "approximately a "20-person-strong military force to Lebanon to flight alongside Hizballah against the Israeli military" during this summer's monthlong war. In exchange, Hizballah's leadership "has made arrangements" for governments like Iran's and Syria's to contribute arms and supplies to the ICU. And senior leaders within the ICU, including co-leader Sheik Hassan Dahir Aweys, allegedly have direct ties to al-Itahad al-Islamiya, a radical group suspected of links to al-Queda.

Leaders of the rcu deny such allegations, but it's telling that they don't seem particularly bothered by them. "We believe the war against terrorism is a war against Islam," says the hard-line rcu national security chairman, Sheik Yusuf Indahaadde. "Those who are making trouble are not based here." Then, in English, the sheik adds forcefully, "Bush is the mother and father of terrorism".

And vet, in spite of the Islamists' disreputable allies, many Somalis cannot remember a time when they felt safer. For Americans, the single, searing image of Somalia was formed in October 1993, after two U.S. Black Hawk helicopters-part of a U.S. mission to provide humanitarian relief and restore order-were felled by militias loval to warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid. Eighteen U.S. special forces were killed, and the world community's involvement in Somalia effectively ended. What followed was a decade and a half of intermittent war that reduced Mogadishu to rubble. Along the "green line," the architectural gem of the former Italian colony that bore the

brunt of the warlords' reign, the once proud edifice of the National Bank is obliterated, and only a stone shard remains of the cathedral's twin bell towers.

But over the past few months, there have been glimpses of progress. In the clearings between bullet-pocked buildings and along the city's broad, leafy avenues, children play soccer and a decade's worth of trash is

slowly being hauled away. Extortionate militia checkpoints and roving bands of technicals-pickups mounted with heavy artillery and carrying armed thugs-have been replaced by disciplined Islamic troops. The city's ports have reopened, buses travel the roads by day. and Somali families stroll the sidewalks by night. Barring the notable exceptions of a Swedish journalist and an Italian nun who were recently murdered, there's no denying Mogadishu's new semblance of order. "This is an area of the world that we would obviously like to see stable, and [the Islamists] are doing that to some extent." says a Western diplomat. "So if what you see is what you get, then maybe it isn't the worst thing in the world."

The Islamists who control the city occupy a whitewashed compound in Mogadishu. They are eager to present their domination as a fait accompli. We are ready to be a nation," says Foreign Minister Ibrahim Hassan Addou. "We want Somalia to be peaceful, and we want to establish good relations with the rest of the world." With both hands, he beckons toward the open window in his office. "Feel free to look around," he says. "You can go where you want to go and see what you want to see."

Well, not quite. The Islamists have instituted Taliban-style rules banning drinking, cinemas, dancing and women swimming, as well as curbing the press. Sheik Sharif Sheik Ahmed, the ICU's coleader, insists these restraints are the product of spontaneous acts of piety by the public. "We don't have any rules issuing from the Islamic Courts to stop any of this," he insists. "The people are doing this by themselves without intervention by us." That seems open to dispute. Just last week, after protests erupted over the shortage of khat, the seemingly ubiquitous narcotic chewed in Somalia, the Islamists ordered a ban on the drug. It's unlikely to go over well. "It's good to stop hashish and harder things," says a man at a khat stall in Mogadishu, "but cigarettes and beer? There will be a day when people say, Wait, they have gone too far. I am sure of it."

The Islamists' takeover is a parable of the unintended consequences of the U.S.'s war on terrorism. After Sept. 11, the U.S. intelligence community, acting on concerns that Somalia's lawlessness could be exploited by al-Qaeda, initiated the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism, a covert program that funneled



TOURIST ATTRACTION A woman displays the nose of a U.S. Black Hawk helicopter shot down in 1993, which visitors pay to see

aid to warlords in return for their assistance in capturing suspected terrorists. One of those warlords approached by U.S. operatives was Osman Hassan Ali Atto. Once a top financier of warlord Aidid—Atto was captured just a week before the downing of the Black Hawks in 1993—he is the last independent warlord in Mogadishu, a testament to his ability to play both sides of the net. Blunt-spoken and avuncular, Atto disparaged the U.S. cash-for-warlords program. "It was a waste of money," he says at

his junkyard in Mogadishu, where the rusting hulks of dozers and paves are still scarred by flak from U.S. missiles some 15 years ago. "I always told them that Amerricals interests [should be] a government that is put in place without the pressure of money. They had their own ambitions to capture certain individuals. But I told them to f\_\_\_\_fft. We are not for sale."

But other warlords were. Payments totaling several hundred thousand dollars were funneled to various militia groups, according to U.N. sources. The program was an open secret in Somalia and among the African diplomatic corps, but its only success was to bolster support for the Islamic Courts among a population weary of anarchy and opposed to foreign meddling. It was a spectacular disaster," says John Prendergast of the International Crisis Group. "Not only were the militia leaders routed, but the U.S. and C.I support for these militias led to strengthened support for the Islamic Courts."

Poorly trained and addled by khat, Mogadishu's bands of thugs were no match for the highly regimented and dedicated Islamic soldiers. After just three months, the warlords were decisively routed this summer. The warlords, they did not know to fight," an ICU millist arainer says during a four of his training camp just outside Mogadishu. They had the guns and the money and the khat, but they did not have the heart. For many months we have not been paid to fight, whether in money or in khat. We fight with our hearts."

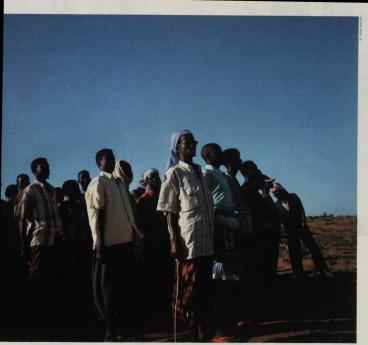
Those aren't their only weapons. The U.N. watchdog report circulated to the Security Council last week says Syria has equipped and trained the ICU military. On July 27, the report says, "200 fighters from the ICU were transported by aircraft to Syria to undergo military training in guerrilla warfare." The report also says a Syrian plane delivered a "large quantity" of arms, including surface-to-air missiles, to the ICU in early September. On at least two occasions, Iran supplied the ICU with arms, including a shipment on July 25 of 1,000 machine guns and grenade launchers, an unknown quantity of mines and ammunition, and 45 shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles.

In mid-August, a large dhow originating in Iran and carrying arms, medical supplies and food arrived at a Mogadishu seaport. Included in the shipment were 80 man-portable surface-to-air missiles and launchers. The U.N. also charges that "at the time of writing of this report, there were two Iranjans in Dluss Marche on-



gaged on matters linked to the exploration of uranium in exchange for arms to the ICU." In separate letters written to the U.N., Syria and Iran denied having any involvement.

Foreign diplomats warn that the arms buildup may be a prelude to a wider war. Despite being sidelined by the Islamists, the transitional government still enjoys the full-throated backing of the international community and is being armed to the teeth by neighboring Ethiopia—a necessary violation of the country's arms embargo if the transitional government is to survive, but hardly endearing to most Somalis, for whom Ethiopia is a blood enemy. Mean-while, Ethiopia's main rival in the region, Eritrea, has funneled arms and forces to the Eritrea, has funneled arms and forces to the



ICU. Peace talks between the Islamists and the transitional government have largely collapsed, and skirmishes are increasing.

The African Union plans to deploy some 7,000 African peacekeepers to keep the two sides at bay. But the Islamists have made clear they will consider this an act of war. "If they come, we will view them as invading troops," said Ahmed. "And we are ready to defend ourselves because we are not ready to be colonized again by any sort of troops in the world." Without those peacekeepers, however, the two sides seem destined to clash. A face-off would surely drag Ethiopia and Eritrea into a proxy—if not outright—war. The Islamists' stated aim to unite all of Somalia is believed to include the secular

FRESH RECRUITS
Former fighters for
the banished warlords
receive military
retraining at camps run
by the Islamists

breakaway territories of Puntland and Somaliland, as well as portions of Kenya and Ethiopia. Once fighting has begun, there's little to prevent Somalia from becoming a conflict that could engulf the Horn of Africa, cause horrific loss of life and create the continent's next major humanitarian crisis.

With those storm clouds gathering, the Islamists in Mogadishu are intent on solidifying their hold on power, dispensing their harsh brand of justice and leaving no

doubt about who's in control. A reminder of that came on a clear blue morning in mid-October, when thousands of Somalis gathered at the parade ground of the old police barracks on the city's battered coast. Guards led a tall, undernourished man, condemned to death for killing another man, to a clearing in the center. After a reading from the Koran, the man conducted his ablutions, said a prayer and was led to a post facing eight soldiers in balaclavas and armed with AKs. His hands and feet were tied and his eyes blindfolded. With the bright blue sea behind him and puffy white clouds above, and to the jubilant shouts of Allahu akbar (God is great) from the crowd, the man's head and stomach were ripped by bullets.



# HAS SONY GOT GAME?

CEO Howard Stringer has had a rough year, but the PS3 could make it right

By DAREN FONDA

URNING BATTERIES ARE TWO WORDS that Sony CEO Sir Howard Stringer would never like to hear again. Before reports surfaced in August that Sony-made lithium-ion batteries had an occasional tendency to fry Apple, Dell and other laptops, the boss of the sprawling Japanese media conglomerate was having a great year. For four quarters. Sony had beaten financial expectations (though it wasn't always profitable). The firm was leaner, following more than 10,000 job cuts and the closure of nine factories. The consumer-electronics division was back in the black. And the movie studio was riding high, led by The Da Vinci Code, Meanwhile, investors had sent the stock up more than 8% through July. It was a nice vote of confidence for Stringer, Sony's first non-Japanese boss, who has probably acquired permanent jet lag traveling between Tokyo, New York City and his family home in London.

Yet after a massive voluntary recall of

laptop batteries, Stringer turned opportunist, using the smoking cells as cover to clear out the vestiges of Sony's change-resistant culture. In Stringervision, the new Sony is led by software and linked horizontally across its vast product line. No more will the folks in the camera group not know what the TV-set guys are doing, he vows, He named a new boss of the consumerelectronics unit. Katsumi Ihara, to see to that. Software design is getting an overhaul too, so movies, MP3 players, TVs and cameras aren't strangers. The shining example is PlayStation 3, the fully loaded game machine that debuted in the North American market last week. "We've put a young guy in charge of the technology group to develop core software and media technologies. which we have not been good at," Stringer told TIME. Likewise, the components and semiconductor divisions have a new boss. And a global product-safety officer will make sure a battery fiasco doesn't recur. Out of this crisis, Stringer promised, "we're going to come out stronger and better organized." Although not immediately more profitable. In mid-October Sony revised forecasts for its 2007 fiscal year, which ends in March, predicting a 38% decline in net income, to about \$435 million. The losses are partly owing to charges for the battery recall and delays in launching the highly complex PS3. For fiscal 2008, Stringer is still predicting a profit margin of 5%, though he admits he's not sure how he'll achieve it. "But I am not altering the profit target."

The big question is whether the PS3 is the herald of Stringer's revitalized company, or a techno-turkey. The machine is off to a rocky start. Sony plans to ship just 2 million units this year, about half its initial projections. Customers queuing to buy one braved a shooting incident outside a store in Connecticut last week. And the lucky few who do snag one may be disappointed, since the PS3 can't play some older games without software upgrades that Sony is promising. (For a full review, go to TIME.COM).

Long term, the idea isn't just to sell the machine to gamers. Sony envisions PS3 as

an entertainment command center that will appeal to a mass market. The box features a ferociously fast computer chip, the Cell, a high-definition Blu-ray disc player, a hard drive and Web browser. In Sony's view, you'll use the PS3 to play games, watch movies and surf the Web. You'll be so dazzled by the hidef images that you'll want to upgrade your TV with a new Bravia set that can display full 1080p resolution, Says Stringer of the PS3: "It's de-

It may be priced for the future too. In the U.S., Sony is charging \$500 for the 20-gigabyte edition and \$600 for the 60-GB box. (By comparison, the Xbox 360 costs \$400 for a basic version and \$500 for one with a hard drive; the Nintendo Wii console costs \$250.) Throw in a few PS3 games, at \$60 a pop, and vou're out \$900-a sum that may scare off consumers. And PS3 already frightens stock analysts. "We do not believe the machine provides incentives for buyers to buy a new machine ... except some game maniacs," Merrill Lynch analyst Hitoshi Kuriyama wrote in a recent report.

Sony is also launching a Ferrari when a Porsche (the 360) or Mazda (the Wii) may work fine for many families. Games such as Brain Age and Guitar Hero, which attract the mainstream audience, often don't require the most advanced hardwareit's their novelty, storytelling and fun factor that count. Moreover, game publishers are increasingly going to multiplatform strategies for big titles. as production costs have soared. That means fewer exclusive games for one console system, an ominous sign for Sony with the priciest box on the shelves.

At retail, Sony may soon find itself in a price war with Microsoft, Given its year head start, Microsoft could afford to cut prices on the 360 by up to \$100 this spring. Xbox Live, the online service, has proved popular with gamers-and Microsoft recently announced HD movie and TV-show downloads for it, a possible killer app. Sony has similar aspirations for its online offering. which is getting a major upgrade with the PS3, though for now it's playing catch-up.

Ironically, analysts who once criticized Sony for falling behind the technological curve are faulting it for being too advanced with the PS3. Blu-ray discs can show game graphics and movies in gorgeous detail, for

signed for the future as much as it is today." BIG BOX: The PS3 is packed with new technology. It may one day turn a profit too





graphics, although developers aren't close to tapping the PS3's full computing power

instance, but few households currently have TVs that can display the full resolution of the format. That will change as prices for those TV sets decline. But consumers may also be reluctant to invest in the PS3 given that Sony and Toshiba are waging a format war over next-generation DVDs-no one wants to be saddled with another Betamax. "A lot of the technology in the machine will not drive the market until the end of the PS3's life cycle," says Yankee Group analyst Mike Goodman.

Sony execs point out that similar barbs

were hurled at the PS2 when it launched in 2000. Yet the PS2 became a monster hit. and still outsells even the 360.

The Cell processor, moreover, isn't just going into the PS3. It will find a home in hundreds of productshorizontal, remember? As for Blu-ray, at worst it loses to Toshiba as a movie format but lives on in the gaming world as a top-notch platform.

Nonetheless, investors won't see a payoff for years. Sony will probably lose \$1.7 billion selling PS3s in its 2007 fiscal year. Analysts for the Yankee Group estimate Sony spends \$700 to

\$800 to make each PS3, creating a loss on every sale. The games division won't return to profitability until several million units have been sold, as component prices fall and revenues from higher-margin software kick in. Said Stringer: Sony will "have to generate some excitement and profits from elsewhere in the company." And that won't be easy. Sony faces

relentless competition in its core consumer electronics business. In the TV category, Sony is just now beginning to break even, partly because it was so late to switch to production of flatscreen TVs. In typical Sony fashion. the engineers weren't convinced that existing LCD technology was up to Sony standards and wasn't worth investing in. Wrong, Sony was forced initially to buy flat panels from rivals like Sharp. In digital cameras, though, Sony has been far more successful.

The uneven results have critics wondering if Stringer should break up the company. "It's time Sony takes a hard look at where their nonelectronics divisions fit in the larger

picture," says Yasunori Tateishi, author of Sonu Inside Storu, "The company talks about synergy, but it's never been realized." This criticism drives Stringer nuts. In

a world where everything is connected, he says, why disband a brand that can fulfill a consumer's every entertainment wish? He says the plan to get sprawling divisions to work together more closely is succeeding. "I just came back from China and the word Sony United is being stamped across every office there," he says, "People want to bring the company together." Slogans are one thing, though, and even Stringer acknowledges, "We still have a ways to go." Game on. -With reporting by Toko Sekiguchi and Bryan Walsh/Tokyo

# **Now Arriving: Mergers**

US Airways' play for Delta could force struggling legacy airlines to link up—or go the way of TWA

By SALLY B. DONNELLY

I, GBEATTHAT'S JUST WHAT WE NEED before the busiest travel time of the before the busiest travel time of the saurs to create the country's first behemoth airline. And to top it off, the proposed 88 billion takeover of Delta Air Lines by US Airways would join the two major carriers that finished at the bottom of one of the 2006 quality ratings.

Actually, such a merger might not be so bad. The airline industry is suffering from overcapacity -too many airline seats chasing too few "good" customers (those paying profitable fares). The government helped skew the industry by propping up failing carriers with taxpayer bailouts after Sept. 11-including US Airways, in 2003. The result is a still flabby industry dominated by legacy airlines that can't make decent money. Flights today are usually 80% full, but average profits on tickets-what the airlines call yield-are down 24% since 2000, according to AirlineForecasts, an aviation consulting firm. Major airlines have lost or written off \$50 billion in the past five years, and two of them, Delta and

Northwest, are still in bankruptcy. Although Delta is poised to fight the deal-and its hometown, Atlanta, is desperate to keep the company-a number of analysts are saving. Don't bother, Aviation consultant Patrick Murphy, who used to track airline competition in the Department of Transportation, says, "A US Airways-Delta merger is the start of a needed consolidation," and notes, "The lowcost carriers are now big enough to offer real alternatives to large network airlines. It will be good for consumers in the long run, making fewer, healthier carriers." Industry experts believe United or American will jump into the bidding for Delta.

The playing field has started to change. For one thing, the big airlines aren't that big anymore. They have been weakened by competition and can no longer use cutthroat pricing to scare off newer, low-fare airlines like Airl'fran, Frontier and JetBlue. In fact, low-cost carriers (LCCs) now account for 25% of all airline traffic, up from 10% five years ago, which has helped drive down fares. Last August, low-cost king Southwest Airlines carried more passengers than any other U.S. airline, the first time an LCC has claimed the top spot.

There is evidence that a US Airways-led deal might be a good idea. They've sort of done it before, having combined with America West. US Airways ceo Doug Parker, 44, is a sharp executive who transformed his previous employer, America West, into the first successful low-fare huband-spoke carrier. A team player, Parker passed up a bonus this March. The merger of America West and US Airways, which he oversaw, has been a success. US Airways used to spend 40% of its revenue on labor, now that figure is 17%, according to AirineForeacts. Significant toost cutting and dropping unprofitable routes have helped the merged America West-US Airways company trim business fares 24%.

But this time Parker may have misjudged his target. Delta CEO Gerald Grin-

stein, 74, is angry that US Airways charged ahead with an unsolicited offer. To do the deal, US Airways has to get a full look at Delta's books; so far Delta execs have shown little interest in

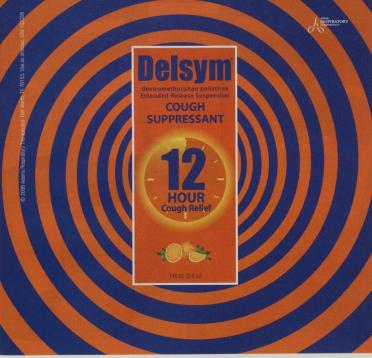
sharing. Another trouble spot may be pilots, who have waged and mostly lost battles with the airlines over salary and benefit concessions. US drivays should expect no favors. "Management must first focus on fullfilling the promises made to their investors, customers and employees for the America West-US Airways merger," says Captain Kevin Kent, a representative of America West's pilots union. Then there's Delta's status

as a bankrupt. That gives creditors like GE and Boeing a say in the matter, although Delta is the only entity that can make a reorganization or merger proposal to the bankruptcy court between now and Feb. 15.

There are other potential negatives. Fares would probably go up on routes where the two airlines now compete. Both need to pull up their socks when it comes to customer service, once a Delta strength and always a US Airways weakness. And integrating the US Airways fleet, which favors European-made Airbus planes, with Delta's all-Boeing operation might be difficult. Also, the combined US Airways-Delta would account for 18% of the market. which competition watchdogs think is too high. But the government, which must approve the merger, gets a vote and presumably could order the merged carrier to sell off routes, and that might mean more opportunity for LCCs.

All that may be putting off the inevitable. For big airlines, bigger might just be better. For now. —With reporting by Greg Fulton/Atlanta





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THE NEW VALUE FRONTIER



#### Ben Stein

## Milton Friedman, Freedom Fighter

TIS SIMPLY NOT POSSIBLE TO ADEQUATELY DESCRIBE THE IMportance of Milton Friedman. In the the 1950s and 1960s,
most men and women of stature simply assumed that state
control of the individual and of the economy was inevitable
and desirable. Friedman, then a professor of economics at the
University of Chicago, said that it was neither inevitable nor
desirable. In books, lectures, articles—wherever he could find
a pulpit—Friedman said freedom, specifically individual liberty, was the optimal condition of mankind, both for human satisfaction and for prosperity.

He rewrote our economic memory. The Great Depression had been blamed largely on free markets, underlining the need for draconian government supervision of the economy. Yet Friedman argued that free markets had not caused the Great Depression. Rather, in A Monetaru History of the United States, written with the great economist Anna Jacobson Schwartz, Friedman said it was horrifying incompetence by the government, specifically the Federal Reserve, that had caused and prolonged the Depression. He showed in minute detail how failures of monetary policy-occasionally motivated by the anti-Semitism of some Fed governors-had created catastrophe from what could have been a short recession. This analysis was so powerful that it revitalized the monetarist school of economic thought: that the supply of money greatly af-

fects not only prices but economic output. It redeemed the free market.

He was a friend and mentor and inspiration all my life. He and his wife Rose, his constant colleague and support, were lifelong friends of my parents Herbert and Mildred Stein after they met at the University of Chicago in the mid 30s. My father, a distinguished economist himself and chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers under Nixon and briefly under Ford, forever stood in awe of the man. As my pop said many times, "Friedman was like every other economics student at Chicago in those days except twice as smart."

When I was a Columbia undergrad in the early '60s, Friedman taught there for a year and was a good friend to me. He even used applied statistics to save me from romantic desperation when I was worried about replacing a girlfriend. If there were only one right woman for every right man, he advised, they would never find each other. Another time, he stopped me from crossing against the light on Broadway and 116th Street, telling me, "Why risk your whole life to save 10 seconds?"

Friedman, as much as anyone, stood athwart history and cried "Stop" as it seemed headed towards collectivism—only he did it with a masterly, genius-level grasp of mathematics, history and statistics. He proved, inasmuch as it can be proved, that free markets would not impoverish the poor but enrich

> them, would not ride roughshod over the downtrodden but would empower them. His work with the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile was widely reviled, but Chile is now the freemarket powerhouse of the Andes and a democracy. These principles paid off for whole populations in South America, in Russia and in Asia. He was the mentor to Ronald Reagan, to Bush 41, even to Nixon—who did not quite believe just how strong Friedman's arguments were and went ahead and imposed ineffectual pricewage controls in 1971.

Friedman's masterpieces of essays, such as Capitalism and Freedom, advised Americans not to look to the state for either rights or responsibilities but to look to themselves for their strength, and then made his case with numbers. He took on Marxism and with potent logic proved that it did not work. He was perhaps the most

MILTON FRIEDMAN

impressive combination of mathematician, economist and caped crusader there has ever been.

The world has lost an irreplaceable champion of liberty. And an irascible one. He even warned that the postal service was a threat to freedom. I never bought that one. Nor did I agree with his sangfroid about immense budget deficits, which he thought would restrain federal spending, which in turn would promote liberty. He worked tirelessly for school choice for the poor through vouchers—possibly the most controversial work he ever did.

When I learned he had died, I was despondent, but I also realized you cannot kill Friedman's exaltation of human liberty not with a gun, not with a tank, not with terrorism—not even with heart disease. His ideas and faith in the human spirit are as implanted in civilization as those of any benevolent economist and social revolutionary since his idol Adam Smith, whom he so worthily followed.

Ben Stein is a writer, an actor and an economist

# What Ails The CDC

Staff turnover, morale problems and charges of mismanagement couldn't have come at a worse time for the guardians of U.S. public health

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

ULIE GERBERDING WAS STILL A DEPUTY director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in 2001 when someone started mailing anthrax spores to newsrooms and politicians' offices around the country. A telegenic personality who connected easily with journalists. Gerberding quickly became the public face of the CDC-a rare cool head among a parade of increasingly confused health bureaucrats. The fumbling she witnessed behind the scenes convinced her that the CDC's troubles extended beyond the need for better communications. She made her case to Tommy Thompson, then Secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS), and within a year was appointed director of the agency-the first woman to hold that jobwith a mandate to radically reshape the CDC.

Five years later, Cerberding finds hesself in the public eye once again, but this time she's under attack. The massive reorganization she ordered—combined with painful budget cuts in key divisions—seems to be tearing the agency apart. Six directors of the cock eight primary scientific centers have left. Researchers are sniping at one another in public and on the Internet. The agency has been targeted by three different congressional probes. And a blistering report, leaked last week, by an outside consultant who studied the agency's response to Hurricane Katrina found chaos and mismanagement at the very top.

Nobody is claiming that the CDC has become another governmental basket case like FEAM—at least not yet. Indeed, the speed with which this past summer's outbreak of lethal food poisoning was traced to spinach tainted by runoff from a particular herd of cows in California is testimony to the CDC's continuing expertise. But the bad publicity comes at the worst possible time for the agency and its director. Congress is wrapping up its final budget for 2007, and the Administration is starting to draw up a preliminary budget for 2008. If lawranders believe that Cerberding is floundering, her institution's budget will suffer.

That's the last thing the U.S. needs. As the nation's premier guardian of public health, the CDC is responsible for researching, tracking and counteracting newly emerging infectious diseases like West Nile and SABS. Doctors rely on it to develop unbiased recommendations on a wide range of medical issues from when to vaccinate children to how best to battle obesity. It also directs funds to individual state and local public agencies to shore



UNDER SIEGE
Director Julie Gerberding has juggled huge increases in bioterrorism funding with serious cuts in core CDC programs

AIDS prevention ▼19%

Tuberculosis control ▼16%

Block grants for unexpected needs •17%

up their own community health efforts. Ironically, it is increased CDC funding

Ironically, it is increased CDC tunding mandated by Congress for high-profile threats like bioterrorism and flu pandemics that has drained money from areas of public health that may actually be more pressing. Among the hardest-hit programs: AIDS prevention (down 19%), uberculosis control



(down 16%) and preventive-health block grants for outbreaks of West Nile disease and other unexpected events (down 17%).

But what really troubles the most vocal critics is their sense that the CDC's devotion to pure science-a long-established mandate to follow the trail of medical evidence wherever it leads-has been sabotaged. AIDS specialists today feel that they are being constrained not to say anything positive about condoms, while others complain that more cash bonuses are being given to administrators than to researchers. "It's the policies and the direction of the institute I'm most concerned about," says Dr. Brad Woodruff, an epidemiologist in the organization's Maternal and Child Nutrition Branch. Woodruff is particularly incensed that the agency's new jet, which is supposed to be for medical emergencies, was used by HHS Secretary Mike Leavitt to make promotional appearances on behalf of President Bush's Medicare drug plan.

The centerpiece of Gerberding's reorganization was her decision to replace the agency's II often insular centers with four coordinating bodies that would, in theory, respond to emergencies with more agility. Closer contact between infectiousdisease and environmental experts, Gerberding says, has already resulted in faster tests for detecting botulism.

But some within the agency complain that the main difference they have seen so far is that their work is more likely to be second-guesced. "Scientists feel less empowered to make decisions," says Dr. Stephen Cochi, who has worked at the cnc for 24 years, currently in the Global Immunization Division. "There's more bureaucratic filtering" Decisions that were routinely made in Atlanta, he and others say, must now be approved by higher-ups in Washington. Requests for anything but emergency travel have to be made 90 days in advance.

As in so many other internecine battles, it can be hard to tell where the whining stops and the real problems begin. The CDC was due for a major overhaul, and it's human nature—even among scientists—to resist change. What started off as hallway grumbling, however, has grown into an ugly public ruckus, thanks to an unofficial employee blog (uvow.cdc.hatter.net) and a few well-directed Freedom of Information requests from the Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Through it all, Gerberding has stood firm. "The CDC was not broken," she says. "The reason to undergo this [reorganization] is that the world was changing so dramatically." As for charges of political interference, she is unapologetic. "This is a publichealth agency, and by its very nature, we're never going to satisfy every single constituency." she says candidly. "I tell [Administration officials this is the science. This is the recommendation. What they do with it is beyond my control."

Not everybody blames Gerberding for the turmoil. "I don't think anyone denies that there's a morale problem at the CDC." savs Dr. Georges Benjamin, executive director of the American Public Health Association. But he attributes much of the upheaval to government-wide belt tightening rather than to Gerberding's reorganization, noting that core programs at the CDC have been cut 4.5% in each of the past two fiscal years. He and other experts believe that the agency needs at least \$15 bil-

lion a year to do all the jobs it has been assigned—nearly twice the current budget of \$8.5 billion.

Perhaps the most immediate problem is the number of senior-level people who are leaving. Part of that is an unavoidable function of aging—40% of the cnc9 s, 9,000 employees will be eligible to retire in 2008. But there's also speculation that older scientists are being pushed to leave early. Either way, "ou don't replace the experts at Cnc easily," suys Robert Keegan, deputy director of the agency's Global Immunization Division. "Management has said they've enacted better emergency standards, but until there's an emergency, you don't know."
State and local public-health officials

are keeping a close eye on all the drama.

The most difficult organization in the world to change is a successful organization in the world to change is a successful organization [like the CDC]. says Paul Halverson of the Arkansas department of health and human services. "If you're a company that is losing money every month, then it's easy to see the need to make a change." Of course, in this case, it's not just money but lives that are at stake. —Reported by Greg Fulton/Atlanta and Alkee Park/New 7.

#### Claudia Wallis

## **How to End the Math Wars**

We have a new formula for teaching kids. Don't let ideology ruin it this time

MERICAN EDUCATION IS EVENT BIT AS POLANZED, RED AND blue, as American politics. On the crimson, conservative end of the spectrum are those who adhere to the back-to-basics credo: Kids, practice those spelling words and times tables, sit still and listen to the teacher; shool isn't meant to be fun-hard work builds character. On the opposite, indigo extreme are the currently unfashionable "progressives" who believe that learning should be like breathing—natural and relaxed, that school should take its cues from a child's interests. As in politics, good sense lies toward the center, but the periodulum keeps sweeping sharply from right to left and back again. And the kids end up whiplashed.

Since the Reading Wars of the '90s, the U.S. has largely

gone red. Remember the Reading Wars? In the '80s, educators embraced "whole language" as the key to teaching kids to love reading. Instead of using 'See Dick and Jane reading with authentic kid lit: storybooks by respected authors, like Eric Carle (F0de Hear.

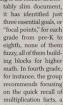
Folar Bear). They encouraged 5- and 6-year-olds to write with "inventive spelling". It was fun. Teachers felt creative. The founders of whole language never intended it to displace the teaching of phonies or proper spelling, but that's what hap-pened in many places. The result was a generation of kids who couldn't spell, including a high percentage who had to be turned over to special-ed instructors to learn how to read. That eventually ushered in the current joyless back-to-phonics movement, with its endless hours of reading-skill drills. Welcome back Dick and lane.

Now we're into the Math Wars. With American kide foundering on state math exams and getting clobbered on international tests by their peers in Singapore and Belgium, parents and policymakers have been searching for a culprit. They've found it in the math equivalent of whole language—so-called fuzzy math, an object of parental contempt from coast to coast. Fuzzy math, properly called reform math, is the bastard child of teaching standards introduced by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (N.C.T.M) in 1989. Like whole language, it was a sensible approach that got distorted into a parody of itself. The reform standards, for instance, called for teaching the uses of a calculator and estimation, but

some educators took that as a license to stop drilling the multiplication tables, skip past long division and give lots of partial credit for wrong answers. "Some of the textbooks and materials were absolutely hideous," says R. James Milgram, a professor of mathematics at Stanford.

Adding to the math morass was the fact that 49 states (all but fowa) devised their own math standards, with up to 100 different goals for each grade level. Teathook publishers responded with teathbooks that tried to incorporate every goal of every state. "There are some 700-page third-grade math books out there," says N.C.T.M.'s current president Francis (Skip) Fennell, professor of education at Maryland's McDaniel College.

Now the N.C.T.M. itself has come riding to the rescue. In a no-





deep understanding of deep understanding of deep understanding of decimals and the ability to measure and compute the area of rectangles, circles and other shapes. "Our objective," says Fennell, "is to get conversations going at the state level about what really is important." In recent weeks, that's begun to happen. Florida and Utah and half a dozen other states are talking about revising their math standards to match the pared-down approach. That pleases academic mathematicians like Milgram, who notes that this kind of instruction is what works in math-proficient nations like Singapore.

So do we have a solution to the national math problem? We certainly have the correct formula. The question is, Can we apply it? Already the N.C.T.M.'s focal points are being called a back-to-basies movement, another swing of the ideological pendulum rather than a fresh look at what it would take to get more kids to calculus by 12th grade. If the script follows that of the Reading Wars, what comes next will be dreary timestables rectials in unison, dull new books that fail to inspire understanding, and drill, drill, drill, much like the unhappy scenes in many of today's "Reading First" classrooms. And that would be just another kind of math fiasco—of the red variety. Kids will learn their times tables for sure, but they'll also learn to hate math.

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By SIMON ROBINSON UMBULUZI, MOZAMBIQUE

BULLET-RIDDLED SUV STORMS along a dirt track in Mozambique, spraying out dust and rocks like a vacuum cleaner in reverse. Hunched behind the steering wheel, Leonardo DiCaprio wrestles the vehicle while Jennifer Connelly and Djimon Hounsou grip the rear seat as if their lives depended on it, which, in this scene of director Edward Zwick's film, they do. "Faster!" shouts Zwick. "We need more speed." DiCaprio nods and backs up, and the bucking drive begins again.

The actors aren't the only ones getting a rough ride in Blood Diamond, an action thriller about the illegal gen trade set during Sierra Leone's brutal civil war. The Warner Bros. film, due for release on Dec. 8, has the diamond industry concerned that moviegoers may walk out of cinemas with the idea that all diamonds are tainted. The gem folks, including

# HOLLYWOOD PLAYS ROUGH WITH DIAMONDS

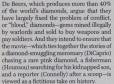












Human-rights campaigners, however, welcome Hollywood focus on the issue and say it has helped tighten industry oversight even before the film's release. In the run-up to the holiday period—peak season for diamond sales and blockbuster movies—the public spat makes an interesting study of how a big studio movie can threaten a 860 tillion-a-year global retail industry, one that has previously thrived on its association with all things Hollywood, and how that business can fight back.

During an on-set interview, Zwick is quick to emphasize that "first and foremost, this is intended to be an entertaining and dramatic movie." At the same time, the man behind thirtysomething and The Last Samuria takes a storyteller's pleasure in his exploration of Sierra Leone's bloody conflict, which ended in 2002, and the way illegal diamond mining fueled that war. "The issues it evokes are universal, both personally and politically. You can't tell a story about Sierra Leone without thinking about child soldiers. You can't tell a story about Sierra Leone without thinking about about Sierra Leone without thinking about thinking

refugees. You can't tell a story about Sierra Leone without thinking about bad governance," says Zwick. "So much is there in this small place."

You also can't tell a story about Sierra Leone without hiring some really big stars to get people to come see it. And luckily for Zwick, it's the kind of tale that draws in actors looking for an Important Subject. "There was something really authentic about the story," says DiCaprio, who agreed to play mercenary Danny Archer after meeting twice with Zwick and watching a 4-min, DVD featuring child soldiers and the aftermath of their battles that the director had patched together. Before shooting began, DiCaprio spent a month in South Africa meeting former mercenaries, undergoing military training and learning the local accent. Although he talked with several ex-mercs and diamond experts, it was a military adviser on the film, a Rhodesian (as some white citizens of Zimbabwe still call themselves) named Duff Gifford, who captivated him. "He's really the man who brought me to the understanding of what this culture was like, what it was like to fight in these wars, the painful things that he'd seen, the love he has for Africa and the bitterness he has as well," says DiCaprio. And that's not all he learned. "They drink a hell of a lot of beer and lägermeister," says the star, no wimp in the party department, with a chuckle. "That was their hard-core drink of choice: flaming Jägermeister shots, which I can't hang with.

For the other actors too, the movie was more than just a job: Connelly is an Amnesty



center, sketches out a scene for DiCaprio and Hounsou; the diamond fields of Sierra Leone are re-created in Mozambique; and Connelly's journalist gets softened up by some locals

International ambassador, and Hounsou has boyhood memories of refugees fleeing war in Liberia for his country, Benin. "To put light to some of the issues," he says, "not just blood diamonds but some of the other problems, it's a great thing to do for my continent."

The movie follows the fortunes of a soldier turned diamond smuggler who works with both warlords and an international diamond corporation. He gets into a scrape and needs to find a huge pink diamond hidden by a fisherman in forced servitude to said warlords. And he meets a gorgeous crusading journalist who knows he can help her blow the story wide open. Along the way, many unromantic acts are perpetuted in the pursuit of the gementones.

The film is historical, but the history is recent. And since a diamond's worth is intimately connected with its significance for romance, the gem industry knows it can't be too careful about the film. The World Diamond Council (w.p.c.) hired crisis p.r. firm Sitrick & Co. to coordinate a reported \$15 million campaign to counter the movie's message. Fullpage newspaper advertisements detailed the measures diamond producers have taken to end the flow of conflict diamonds. An industry website, diamondfacts.org, sprang up, retailers were encouraged to educate themselves about the issue, and Zwick was pushed to tout the complete success of the Kimberlev Process, a diamond-policing mechanism instituted in 2002 (see sidebar). in the script. He declined.

"I'm not worried at all by the film as long as people get to know the facts," says Eli Izhakoff, head of the w.D.C. "We see this as an opportunity to make sure that people are aware of all the good stuff the industry has done." Rosalind Kainyah, until recently De Beers' London-based director of public and corporate affairs, is a little more direct."I'm sure that Warner Bros. wouldn't want to harm Africa," she says. "So I believe they'll want to put the movie in a historic context."

Since Kimberley was created, the industry says, 99.8% of diamonds are conflict free. Activists say that the situation is better but that diamonds are the cause of continuing misery. Two weeks ago, when Kimberley Process members sat down to their annual plenary meeting in Botswana to discuss how the watchdog system was working, the pressure for tighter oversight had ratcheted up. Responding to a U.N. report that poor controls are allowing conflict diamonds from war-torn Ivory Coast to enter the legitimate trade through neighboring Ghana, where they are being certified as conflict free, the diamond industry agreed not only to send a group to Ghana to ensure that it was complying with its obligations but also to publish annual industry-wide production and trade statistics for the first time ever.

The gem folks say the decision had nothing to do with Blood Diamond. "The movie had no impact on the deliberations and outcome of the recent Kimberley Process Plenary," says w.D.C. spokesman Carson Glover. "The diamond industry began confronting the problem of conflict diamonds long before Hollywood was aware of it and will be focused on it long after Hollywood loses interest." Activists, though, say the w.D.C. was much more proactive at this Kimberlev Process meeting than in the past. "I think that the upcoming film must have had an impact on their moves to support calls to strengthen the Kimberlev Process," says Susie Sanders, a campaigner with Global Witness, a diamond watchdog group. "We had raised Ivory Coast as a serious issue last year, but the industry reacted to it quite late in the day [and little was resolved]. This year it was very different."

Perhaps the industry would have acted anyway, or perhaps all the publicity undged it forward a year or two. Whatever the case, it's hard to imagine that the rift between the gene biz and show biz is going to be permanent. While DiCaprio says he would no longer let any date of his wear diamonds, the years of jewelers lending free baubles to stars and their wives have to count for something. Come Ocear time, we'll see who gets iced out. —With reporting by leftry Respectives. Ansiets.

VIEWPOINT

### So, Should You Buy a Diamond?

ewelers know the look, the shy mixture of hesitation and happiness. that crosses a man's face when he buys an engagement ring. He wants this piece of clear carbon to embody all the love he feels for his intended and to represent the new life they're embarking on. I felt it five years ago when I became one of the 1.7 million American men who buy a diamond ring each year. But after my engagement unraveled. I began to think again about that ring and about the diamond trade that produced it. I realized there were questions I should have been asking about that diamond beyond the carat size and the price. Primarily,

should you even buy a diamond? The answer depends on whom you ask. De Beers and the rest of the diamond trade would say yes. Watchdog groups like Global Witness would say no. Eight years ago, Global Witness produced damning evidence of iewel-related slaughter in several African nations. It caused an international scandal and gave rise to a policing mechanism called the Kimberley Process, which requires diamond-exporting nations to seal their stones in a tamnerproof container, with a document stating they were not mined in a war zone. It also requires better data collection

Has this worked? To research my book, The Heartless Stone, I traveled in 2004 and '05 to Africa, where diamonds are mined in conditions that range from the orderly to the horrific, and found virtually no oversight of the violence-prone alluvialmining sites. Many stones have made their way out of the jungle and into suburban malls via somebody's lower intestinal tract. Even when the diamonds are not smuggled or traded for guns, the wages for the miners can be outrageously unfair. I met a team of diggers in the Central African Republic who were routinely paid \$200 for large-carat diamonds that would easily retail for \$40,000 in the U.S.

from customs agencies.

There is persuasive evidence that the supply chain is easily infiltrated. A September report from the U.S. Government Accountability Office (6AO) said flatly, 'U.S. control systems cannot help deter illicit rough diamonds from entering the legitimate trade." Another disturbing finding; the U.S. reported exporting more diamonds than it received in 2003—a remarkable trade imbalance for a nation without a single working mine. The GAO said, with bureaucratic dyness,

that such figures were "not plausible."

The Kimberley Process has two loopholes that can't be easily plugged. The first, as the GAD's findings indicate; is that it would be difficult to design a better tool for money laundering, arms dealing and cross-border smuggling than a diamond—all that liquidity in such a triny space. Diamonds can be bought with dirty money, moved across African borders with relative ease, given faise paperwork and then sent onward to the trading centers of Europe.

The second is that Kimberley concerns itself only with nations that are in a state of or war as defined by the U.N. This essentially voerlooks all kinds of miserable deeds in places like Angola, which is still recovering from a grinding 30-year war and where murder and robbery are facets of daily life in the diamond fields. I was told that miners have been eviscerated if they were suspected of having swallowed

a stone.

De Beers and the rest of the industry deserve credit, however, for taking the first steps toward ending the diamond-related

the diamond-related slaughter. And, yes, the gems can be used to build up a nation's infrastructure rather than tear it apart. While the nascent democracy

of Botswana does not have

a diversified economy (65% of export income comes from diamonds), its calm political climate proves that these stones are not always corrosive to the places they come from. Namibia is taking steps toward creating a homegrown polishing industry, adding a long-overdue value-added layer to the extraction process. A sudden collapse of the diamont trade would spell of the diamont trade would spell standard and successing the control of the diamont can be considered as the control of the diamont can be considered as the control of the control of the diamont can be considered as the control of the control

It will not be a movie or even the Kimberley Process that determines whether America's favorite gemstone can be purchased ethically. That's up to the consumers, who should insist that jeweiers show them proof that their suppliers have a System of Warranties statement on their invoices, demonstrating compliance with the Kimberley Process. Even if this doesn't prove that a diamond is clean, it proves that customers care about the source of their icons of love. —By Tom Zeeliner

Tom Zoellner is the author of The Heartless Stone



Foreign collectors want them. Newly minted local millionaires want them. The rise and rise of the country's modern artists

By SIMON ELEGANT BEIJING

HANG HAOMING LOOKS LIKE A million dollars. Or, more precisely, half a million, the amount he spent on a recent Saturday afternoon as he strolled around Beijing's funky 798 district, a series of crumbling redbrick factories that house the Chinese capital's largest concentration of art galleries. Appearing at an opening for the painter Yang Shaobin, the 44-year-old millionaire businessman stands out from the crowd of

black-clad, ponytailed dealers, critics and artists, more john Travolta than Jasper Johns. His black hair is permed into loose curls that flounce slightly as he walks, his torso covered by a tight, long-sleeved slik shirt decorated with switling white, brown and black shapes, a large medallion bearing a golden crown clasped around his neck.

As he moves from one gallery to the next, checking on works he has already booked and buying new ones, Zhang is treated like royalty. "That's mine," he says at a photo gallery, pointing to a picture of a man's back that has been painted with a classical Chinese landscape, then to one in which raw meat has been arranged into the shape of Chinese characters. "And that, and that."

Zhang is one of a new breed of Chinese collectors who are helping to turbocharge the contemporary-art scene in China from within. But his competition is not just local. Contemporary Chinese art is currently one of the hottest genres has created a stand-alone modern-Chinese-art division, and Christic's showcases the art alongside such modern Kooning And at a Christie's auction last week in New York City, pieces by Chinese painters Li Songsong and Yan Lei set record prices, while Zhang Xiaogang's A Big Pamily Series No. 16 went for \$1.36 million, surpassing its highest estimate. The Warhol Mo, of course, dwarfed all those sales, going for \$17.4 million, suggesting that there's plenty of life in Western art yet. (And that Mao is one popular guy.)

If the incestious, trend-conscious world of international art collectors and the hot money of the roughly 500 new millionaires that China's boom has thrown up come together, it could push prices for Chinese art to even more dizzying levels. You are already seeing works that sold for a few thousand dollars being bought for \$50,000, \$60,000, \$70,000, \$90, \$90.00.



and Beijing gallery director Zhao Gang.
"And right now there's no end in sight."
He cites the case of Zeng Fanzhi, until recently a relatively unknown artist. "Two
years ago, I was selling his work for
\$10,000 for a large painting. The other
day someone offered \$200,000, and he re-

fused it as too low!" The purchase of a large painting by Zhang Xiaogang at an Oct. 15 London auction by British collector Charles Saatchi suggests there's every reason to believe that the tide of interest from overseas will continue to rise. Saatchi paid about \$1.5 million for one of the artist's Bloodline series Still New York City-based collector Larry Warsh believes he got a good deal. "Saatchi is coming in late, but he's important because people follow him," says Warsh, publisher of the magazine Museums and an enthusiastic advocate of contemporary Chinese art. "It will soon prove to be a bargain."

There may not yet be any discerning Chinese collectors in the model of the in-

AT WORK Zhang Xiaogang in his studio. Last week one of his pieces sold for \$1.36 million

fluential Saatchi. But that's unlikely to affect the demand for modern Chinese art, effect the demand for modern Chinese art, since many of the newly minted millionaires simply don't have anywhere else to put their cash. "It's what I call the panic of new money," says Zhao, 45, who manages the venerable Courtyard Gallery. "The government is Rilling the property market, the stock market has been up and down like a bouncing ball, and people don't trust it. They can only buy so many Mercedes. They have to put their money somewhere, and right now that means contemporary art."

Such speculative interest could evaporate overnight if the market cools, of course. But that's where the non-Chinese buvers come in. The international contemporaryart market is highly cyclical-many would say current prices are at all-time highs-but there remains a core group of wealthy art collectors who will be comparatively unaffected by external conditions. It's the buyers from that group who are now turning their attention to China, argues banker and avid collector Carl Kostyal. "About 10 to 20 collectors are at the leading edge of contemporary art globally," says Kostval. "They are already buying in China and have been for a year or so. Then there is another group of 200 to 300 for whom this buying is bringing China into their sights," Kostval, who recently flew into Beijing for two days of gallery tours and visits to artists' studios, believes that a second-and larger-group will soon begin to buy, further bolstering the market.

Skyrocketing prices have left galleries and dealers scrambling to keep up with the demand. Sotheby's held its first sale of

the demand. Sotheby's J purely Chinese contemporary art in New York City only last March. A dozen or so foreign galleries from New York, London and Hong Kong have opened branches in Beijing and Shanghai in the past 18 months. Meanwhile, scores of local galleries have sprung up.

Inevitably, the flood of money has left some members of the art world in China unhappy. "Modern art in China has become a monster," says respected collector Guan Yi.

ARTIST Yang Shao Bin WORK Police Series

No. 46
PRICE OF ENTRY
His work reaches
\$21,500

ARTIST Zhu Wei WORK Utopia No. 45

Zhu's recent painting sales average about \$45,000 "People's attention is no longer focused on the art itself but [on] what kind of return they will get on their investment, like the stock market."

The contrast between such sentiments and the attitudes of the current crop of leading artists, like Zhang Xiaogang, Zhu Wei and Fang Lijun, couldn't be starker. Mostly now in their 40s, many of the artists suffered through the tail end of the Cultural Revolution. The cultural flowering that followed in the '80s was another casualty of the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989. Many artists left the country. Now back, they're thrilled at being rewarded instead of hounded for expressing their feelings in their work. Fundamental issues like politics, ideology and spirituality remain important themes. Images of Mao Zedong, the Red Guards and other icons of the recent past are central to the works that have brought many of them fame.

For the young artists just breaking into the scene, such images have little resonance, except as tools to raise their prices, says gallery director Zhao. "To them it's like being in manufacturing—they are cranking out a commodity," he says with a sigh. "But then, at prices like these, you can hardly blame them;"







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## **Hip Hymns Are Him**

Most people have never heard of Chris Tomlin, yet millions sing his songs every week

HERE AME TWO DATHS TO MUSIC IMMORtality: the Prince route and the Patty and Mildred Hill route. In the Prince model, you write a piece of music that people love so much, they seek it out download it and turn up the radio whenever it comes on. The Hill sisters model is trickier; they composed the melody for Happy Birthday to You. They achieved their fame by writing a tune that people don't listen to so much as sing.

Chris Tomlin belongs in the second camp.



PIANO MAN: "I want my songs to be the sound track for people's lives of worship," says the songwriter

People sing his songs a lot, often repeatedly. Specifically, they sing them in church. According to Christian Copyright Licensing. International (CCUI), an organization that hicenses music to churches, Tomlin, 34, is the most often sung contemporary artist in U.S. congregations every week. Since glee clubs have fallen out of popularity, that might make Tomlin the most often sung artist anywhere.

This distinction does not make him the best musician anywhere, as he will be the first to admit. Tomlin's How Great Is Our God (which he co-wrote with Jesse Reeves and Ed Cash), currently the second most popular modern chorus in U.S. churches (after Tim Hughes' Here I Am to Worship), is not particularly profound—the title pretty much sums it up—but it's heartfelt, short

and set to a stirring soft-rock melody that sticks in the mind like white to rice. That's Tomlin's gift immediacy. If try to think, How do I craft this song in a way that the person who's tone-deaf and can't clap on two and four can sing it?" says the songwriter. "I hope that when someone hears a CD of mine, they pick up their guitar and say, 'O.K., I can do that." Which is not the way people react to, say, Handel's Messiah.

Tomlin's third album. See the Morning. released this fall, is doing nice enough business-it has sold about 124,000 copies-but that's not the point of it. Its creator thinks of himself less as a musician and more as a worship leader. Unassuming, single, shortish, Tomlin grew up in a sporty, churchgoing family in Grand Saline, Texas, where he and his two brothers used to play music in the annual Salt Festival. These days he lives in Austin. Texas, but spends much of his life on the road. as a sort of itinerant music minister. "So many songs by Chris have risen," says CCLI marketing manager Paul Herman. "He has really captured the heart of the church."

Tomlin is the chief American practitioner of the pop-sounding "praise and worship" music that has replaced traditional hymns in congregations looking for a younger crowd. (Recently some churches introduced the U2-charist, a Com-

munion service set to the music of U.2.) "We've been closing the gap between what you would hear in church and on a rock radio station," says Matt Lundgren, worship leader at Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Ill. "Artists like Chris Tomlin help bridge the san more and more."

After years of being the guy behind the songs, Tomlin is poised to achieve that more Prince-like status as well. He won a bunch of Dove Awards (the Christian Grammys) this year. Hé sál ower Christian raido, and he's a huge draw at the big annual student gatherings known as Passion conferences. But Tomlin doesn't want to be Prince. Music immortality is fine. H's just not the sort he cares about.—By Belinda Luscombe. With recording by Intu Intellor

From a three-disc pack to a 50-disc feast, these sets provide 80 years of movie epiphanies



OF MANUS FRANCS

A ESSENTIAL ART HOUSE: 50 YEARS OF JANUS FILMS

IN THE '50S AND '60s, Janus was a

leading distributor of foreign films-such instant classics as Ingmar Bergman's Wild Strauberries, with Bibi Andersson (above), and Francois Truffaut's Jules and Jim. Janus later spawned the Criterion Collection the ultraclassy DVD outfit. Now the child is paying tribute to the parent company, with a 13-lb, 12-oz... foot-wide box containing 50 discs of wonderful films once handled by Janus, plus a 240page, lavishly illustrated book. With important works by Jean Renoir, Sergei Eisenstein and Michelangelo Antonioni, this

package really is essential—the perfect starter set for a full film education.



LUBITSCH IN BERLIN HIS ADMIRERS called it "the Lubitsch touch"

—a deft, vigorous approach to comedy that graced Hollywood romances like Trouble in Paradises, Ninotehka and Heaven Can Wait. But before Ernst Lubitsch arrived in the U.S, he had helped establish the infant German cinema as a beacon of sophisticated drama and innovative technique. Kino, the top by label for silent films, offers a four-disc sampler of the director's early work, all from 1919 to 1921, including lavish historical

dramas (Anna Boleun).

mountain films (The Wildcat, with a very feral Pola Negri) and delightful comedies. Best is The Oyster Princess, "a grotesque in four acts," in which the director sets a pinwheeling series of sight gags in motion like a vaudevillian with his spinning plates. He's not vet

working at his Hollywood level, but he's getting there.



PRESTON STURGES: THE FILMMAKER COLLECTION HOLLYWOOD

once believed in the division of labor: writers wrote, and directors directed. Sturges, who did both with ease, changed all that in a whirlwind few years (1940-44) at Paramount, where he auteured an incredible eight films-amazing in their quantity and quality. Seven of those comedies (all but The Miracle of Morgan's Creek) are amassed here as a reminder of how fast, reckless and smart movies can be. Sturges' social satire fizzes in The Great

McGinty and Hail the Conquering Hero. But the pearl is The Lady Eve, with con artiste Barbara Stanwyck seducing naive Henry Fonda on the high seas and, just for fun, doing it again as a different woman on land.



FORBIDDEN HOLLYWOOD COLLECTION, VOL. 1 THE PRECODE

era was a rowdy four-year span (1930-34) when the movies had just learned to talk and were mouthing off about what Sturges called Topic A: sex. This liberated period featured dozens of sagas of tough broads on the make or on the skids. Three of the best are collected here. Mae Clarke plays a world-weary prostitute in Waterloo Bridge, Jean Harlow is an unrepentant gold digger, leaving broken hearts and two corpses in her wake. in Red Headed Woman. And the great Stanwyck, as sharp as a slap, sleeps her way to the top in the all-time sleazerrific Babu Face, now available in the original version, which was too



► JAMES BOND: THE ULTIMATE

COLLECTION, VOLS. 1-4
NOW IN ITS MID-40s (IT MADE
its debut in 1952), the movies'
longest-running series faces
middle age by both toning up,
with the muscular new
Casino Royale, and
looking back, with
this multiDVD pack of
all 20
of the
"official"

BEST BOND? Sean Connery kills in six of the films in the collection



films, with the first five of the superspies. The Bond tropes may be as codified—and believable—as Kabuki, but the films can still shake and stir you.



A MARTIN & LEWIS COLLECTION: VOL. 1 IN THE EARLY

'50s, they owned show business: TV, nightclubs, records, stage shows and, of course, movies. The duo that one mogul called the organ grinder (Dean Martin) and the monkey (Jerry Lewis) created inventive comedy out of a tense and bizarrely intimate palship. This set has the first eight of the 16 movies they made as a team. No masterpieces here, but each film summons up the time when Dean did his sexv crooning and Jer ran splendidly amuck. -By Richard Corliss



## **Exchange-Traded Funds**

What You Need to Know

Find out why exchange-traded funds (ETFs) have doubled their trading volume each year and have accumulated more than \$300 billion in assets since their creation in 1993.

Do they belong in your portfolio?

ETFs are an outgrowth of the mutual fund explosion, but differ from traditional mutual funds in how shares are issued, traded and redeemed. An ETF is like a basket of securities, such as stocks or bonds. owned by an investment company. As with a mutual fund, the investor who buys a unit of the basket automatically owns partial exposure in all the underlying securities. The first ETF was named the SPDR Trust. whose shares were referred to as "Spiders" (for SPDRs, or Standard & Poor's Depositary Receipts). That ETF was formed with the investment objective of tracking the S&P 500 Index, thereby permitting its portfolio to be changed when S&P changed the composition of its index.

Hence, its investment policies were similar to those of the mutual funds that had been passively managed to match the performance of the S&P 500, beginning with the Vanguard 500 in 1976, or other domestic and foreign stock and bond price indices.



By the end of 2005, more than 2000 ETFs had been organized, representing nearly every segment of the market, here and abroad. As much as 63 percent of ETF assets were broadly diversified across domestic equity sectors, while 10 percent were concentrated in individual market sectors or industries. Another 22 percent of ETF assets were invested internationally, with the remaining 5 percent in bonds.

### Why Are ETFs Popular?

Mutual funds, conceived more than 80 years ago and now owned by 91 million U.S. individuals, owe their strong appeal to a combination of features: professional management, instant diversification for low minimum investments, prices based on net asset value (NAV) that are updated daily, and easy reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. They offer the investor the ability to pool funds together for management and transaction purposes. But unlike publicly traded stocks, bonds or closed-end investment companies, mutual funds do not give investors the opportunity to buy or sell their shares at any time when markets are open, at known prices. ETFs, which have similar appeal, offer this and additional advantages.

Trading Flexibility: ETFs give investors a vehicle that resembles



The ability to buy and sell ETF shares any time during the trading day—and at a known price—is an advantage that index mutual funds can't provide.

mutual funds but also provides the opportunity to have buy or sell orders promptly executed at known prices on a securities exchange, through a broker, and at any time during the day that markets are open — just like a stock.

The ability to buy and sell ETF shares any time during the trading day — and at a known price — is an advantage that index mutual funds can't provide. Furthermore, unlike mutual funds. ETFs can be bought on margin or sold short. When selling short, they are not subject to the "uptick rule" that says you can only sell a security at a price above the previous quote.

Tax Advantage: Many ETFs have not distributed any long- or short-term capital gains in five years or more, and if they have, the distributions are very tiny (although ETFs may still distribute dividends received from the underlying stocks). Financial planners note that investors can better control the timing of the tax treatment of ETFs relative to other

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investments, as investors can avoid paying any taxes on ETF gains until the investment is ultimately sold (since the gains are otherwise rarely distributed). Furthermore, by holding an ETF for at least one year and a day, capital gains will be treated as long-term capital gains, which are currently taxed at a federal rate of 15 percent (5 percent for low tax bracket investors.)

Transparency: Unlike traditional mutual funds, which must disclose their holdings quarterly. ETF holdings are fully transparent, and investors know what holdings are in the ETF at any given time. Each ETF also has a NAV tracking symbol for even more precise analysis. This helps keep ETFs trading within pennies of their intraday NAV.

Value: Unlike ETFs, many mutual fund families charge significant loads and fees in addition to their expense ratios. To limit the activity of active traders, fund companies may also have either added redemption fees or restricted trading in their index or sector funds by limiting transactions to mail requests. These additional "costs" vary by fund family and often by individual fund. These added costs or trading restrictions might create a cost advantage in favor of ETFs, which generally do not face any of these additional loads, fees or restrictions, other than transaction costs

### Who Finds ETFs Attractive?

ETF investors are primarily institutional investors or market makers using ETFs to take a low-cost position in a market segment, sector or country. Higher networth investors taking larger positions sometimes find ETFs an attractive way to participate in particular market segments or sectors. Small investors will find less appeal in ETFs because of trading execution costs.



# As with any financial product, it's important to view ETFs in the context of the investor's overall goals and financial plan.

However, many financial planners believe these vehicles can be costeffective when used correctly. For 
instance, shares of ETFs structured 
like index funds may have even 
lower annual expenses than index 
mutual funds, which, in turn, tend 
to be lower than those of actively 
managed mutual funds. ETFs must, 
however, be bought and sold through 
brokers, and those trades do involve 
transaction costs.

Critics of ETFs are concerned that individual investors could be hurt because ETFs can trade at a premium or discount to their NAV. They often describe a scenario in which the small investor unknowingly buys at a premium and sells at a discount. However, generally, the gap from NAV is small to nonexistent in free markets where arbitrageurs can operate, particularly for the larger and more popular ETFs.

The main characteristic of ETFs that limits premiums and discounts is their creation/redemption feature. If ETF shares are trading at a premium to fair market value, market makers can assemble a basket of securities at fair prices

and then deliver those securities in return for ETF fund shares trading at a premium. If, ETF shares instead trade at a discount, market makers would purchase ETF shares at discount prices and then redeem them for the underlying index shares, which then can be sold at their fair market value.

The AMEX Web site or any quote service provides information to track and evaluate the premium/discount issue and the success of any ETF.

### Financial Planning: ETFs in the 'Big Picture'

As with any financial product, it's important to view ETFs in the context of the investor's overall goals and financial plan. In a comprehensive financial planning relationship, the planner will consider not only taxes and investments but the client's retirement plans, estate plan, insurance needs and any applicable employee benefits. Given the high degree of individualization involved in the process, ETFs might or might not be right for a particular investor's portfolio.

ETFs in a Well-Balanced Portfolio Asset allocation has been difficult for smaller investors due to the costs and assets required to develop a diversified portfolio, ETFs provide investment alternatives to assist in the development of a diversified asset-allocation strategy using broad market segments, sector and size segments, and style segments.

There are no guarantees of ETF performance. Before investing, examine the underlying securities as you would if selecting a mutual fund. Also consider the diversification, cost and whether it is offered through an organization you trust. Not all ETFs are the same, and the values of their underlying securities can shift over time.

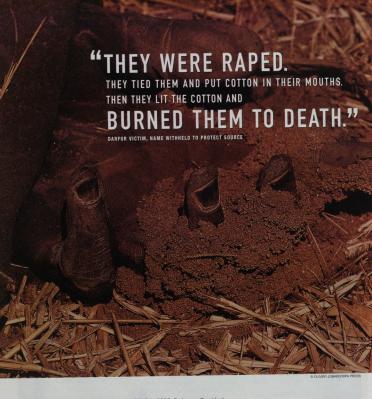


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WHAT DO STEAK, TOFU AND SUSHI HAVE to do with cancer? Plenty, it seems, if several new studies served up at the American Association for Cancer Research in Boston are to be believed. And not all bear good news: the latest report from the sprawling Nurse's Health Study, for example, detected an unsettling association between red meat and breast cancer.

The report that interested me most looked at the association between breast cancer and sovbased foods. This is a controversial topic because sov contains isoflavones. some of which in isolated form can stimulate the

growth of estrogenreceptor-positive breastcancer cells. That's why many Western doctors warn women against eating sov. Yet the epidemiological evidence has been promising: Asian women on diets rich in sov have significantly lower rates of breast cancer than

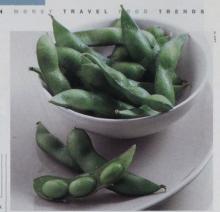
Western women have.

So I was particularly gratified by a new study of Asian-American women done by the National Cancer Institute (NCI). It looked at women who ate a lot of sov-based foods as children, adolescents and adults. The strongest and most consistent association was among women who ate the most sovbased foods from ages 5 to

### Good news for sov-based foods. bad news for T-hone steaks

11. They reduced their risk of developing hormonefueled breast cancer 58%. compared with women who ate the least. The reduction for women who ate a lot of soy as adolescents and adults was 25%. Regular, moderate consumption of whole-soy foods (such as sov nuts, edamame, sov milk, tofu and tempeh) probably affects the development of breast tissue in young females, possibly making it more resistant to carcinogens, including estrogenic agents in the environment.

The lead researcher of the NCI study says it would be premature to recommend changes in children's diets on the basis of these results, but I don't agree Women who have a



family history of breast cancer ought to be introducing their kids to sov foods as early as possible. Substituting soy milk for cow's milk is one way to start. I believe the same thing will be shown to hold true for boys; a simibreast-cancer risk for women who ate the most soy-based foods between ages lar diet may lower their

future risk of

prostate

cancer.

The other piece of good news came out of a large population study of more than 22,000 U.S. physicians. It found that men who ate fish five or more times a week had a 40% lower risk of developing colorectal cancer than

men who ate it less than once a week. I've long believed that the omega-3 fatty acids in oily fish inhibit the cox-2 enzyme that increases

both inflammation and cell proliferation. The bad

news came in another large population study, this one of more than 90,000

nurses. A report published in the Archives of Internal Medicine found that the risk of estrogenand progesteronereceptor-positive breast cancer increased most in those nurses who ate the most red meat, Women

5 and 11

who ate more than 1½ servings of red meat a day had nearly double the risk, compared with those who ate three or fewer servings a week. The authors offered several theories for what's behind the correlation. One possibility is that red meat delivers too much iron in a form that promotes cancer. Another is that carcinogens form in meat as it is cooked. Yet another (and one that I would bet on) is that conventionally raised beef carries residues of the hormones ranchers give cattle to make them grow faster.

Have a question about cancer for Dr. Weil? Go to time.com/askdrweil

### WHAT WE EAT

In 2004, per capita consumption of red meat in the U.S. was nearly 120 lbs.

Last year the average American ate about 5 oz. of soy protein (equivalent to 12 oz. of beans), including % gal, of soy milk and 7 oz. of tofu

Americans ate, on average, 16% lbs. of fish and shellfish in 2004, including 3 lbs. 5 oz. of canned tuna



## HITCHHIKING IN CYBERSPACE

By CAROLYN SAYRE

NEED A RIDE HOME FOR THE HOLIDAYS HITCHHIKING may have fallen out of favor, but a new form of ride sharing has emerged to replace it on—where else?—the Web. Today tens of thousands of Americans go online every month to stick a virtual thumb out in cyberspace, especially during holiday travel seasons.

Craigslist.org—the largest ride-sharing forum—expects to receive a 50% increase in requests from users hoping to catch a ride home for Thanksgiring dinner. And why not? As a mode of travel, it's cheap, fuel efficient and relatively safe (more on that later.) Besides, says Jim Buckmaster, CEO of Craigslist. it's an adventure."

# The joys—and dangers—of finding a ride home on the Web

Ride sharing on Craigslist is basically an electronic version of the bulletin boards you find on most college campuses. People seeking rides say where they 30,000

Number of ride-sharing posts a month on Craigslist during the holiday season and other peak travel times

want to go, and drivers with room to spar arrange a place to meet. Craigslist, which requires no membership and charges no fee, fields 20,000 ridesharing posts in a typical month, a number that swells to 30,000 during peak travel times.

To meet the growing demand, more than a dozen major ride-sharing sites have sprung up, many of them quite sophisticated. Some allow users to sort by age, gender, type of car, smoking or smoke-free travel and

even music preferences. At Carpoolworld.com, you enter your destination, and the site spits out a list of registered users headed your way.

a list of registered users headed your way. Ridester.com, one of the fastest-growing sites, with 11,000 unique

users since
August, will
send you a
text message when a
potential
match arises,
in the number or let
suring posts on
efficies hare posts on
efficies hare from
2005 to 2006
you with a \$2 surcharge for each trunsuction and take 9.5% of the
bubble a
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How much are those fees? That depends on what kind of deal you can strike. When Ridester's overhead is factored in, a trip from Phoenix, Ariz, to Los Angeles arranged on the site would cost you \$37, about \$12 less than Greyhound and at least \$100 less than Amtrak.

Ride sharing gen-

erally affords more companionship than a train or bus trip. But that can be a plus or a minus, depending on the quality of your companions. A disclaimer on eRideShare.com reads. "Please keep in mind that there are crazies out there. Don't travel with someone vou don't trust." While the American Automobile Association (AAA) encourages carpooling with someone you know, it warns against ride sharing when you don't know who is be-

hind the wheel, "You're

stranger," says Robert

hooking up with a perfect

Sinclair Ir., a spokesman

for AAA. "Beyond the fact

that they could kidnap

you and rob you, you don't know how good of a driver they are and what kind of insurance they have."

Ride-sharing sites like Ridester have tried to alleviate safety concerns by re-

quiring users to register and instituting a feedback system in which passengers can rate the quality of their driver

of their driver. The site also offers an escrow account that holds a passenger's carpooling fee until the transaction is completed. It's no guarantee, admits Jake Boshernitzan, CBO fildester. We are not able to ensure the safety of our riders, just like an online-dating site can't guarantee the safety of someone you meet," he save.

Legally, ride-sharing services avoid the regulations that govern for-hire businesses like taxicabs by forbidding drivers to solicit requests for passengers. If the business grows-and if there are some high-profile incidents-that could change, "It's a gray area," says Paul Angenend, an attorney specializing in transportation law. "If vou ride-share 20 times a month, then you're in the for-hire business."

For now the best addition is the one your mother would give: Don't get into a car with perfect strangers, and if their driving makes you uncomfortable, ask them to drop you at the nearest bus or train station.



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## **SCREEN**

Maybe you're well aware that Paul McCartney was in a band before Wings, but how up are you on today's pop culture? Take this week's quiz and find out:

1) Elizabeth Vargas of **ABC** News questioned the journalistic integrity of:

A) Marie Claire's doctoring a photograph so that Vargas appeared to be reporting the news B) Barbara Walters' two-night special on all the ridiculous things she has said in C) Dan Rather's doing onearmed push-ups on The

D) Geraldo's mustache

2) If David Blaine frees himself from a locked gyroscope spinning some 40 ft. above a

Manhattan street corner by the end of Thanksgiving Day, the stuntman plans to:

A) Throw up B) Do it again covered in honey while a swarm of killer bees is let loose C) Take 100 underprivileged children shopping at Target D) Brave the Macy's sale

3) Oprah wasn't invited to TomKat's nuptials but said she would:

A) Help Joan Rivers interview wedding guests as they walk the red carpet B) Have her couches

cleaned and resprung for their return c) Send the couple a gift anyway

D) Buy all 500 or so guests a copy of Scientology guru L. Ron Hubbard's Dianetics





## (MIDDLE-AGED) GIRLS GONE WILD

Finally, a movie for all the squares who wish they had cut loose when they were in college, In Spring Breakdown, PARKER POSEY, AMY POEHLER and RACHEL DRATCH play straitlaced thirtysomethings who whoop it up with the popular crowd when they're supposed to be chaperoning a conservative Senator's daughter. "It's Revenge of the Nerds meets Nine to Five." Poehler says of the film. which fellow Saturday Night Live star Dratch produced and co-wrote. In the name of research, the cast did a lot of late-night partying, which doesn't do much for your adulthood cred. "My life is delayed adolescence as it is," says Poehler, "This movie did not help me with that,"



Remember in the early '80s when BONO suffered from a severe mullet? A stylist Joshua Tree tour in 1987 but made off with his Stetson. U2 learned the ex-staffer had his hat and other garb when she tried to auction them at Christie's in 2002. The band won a protracted lawsuit last week after Bono testified that the stylist's apartment might be an "Aladdin's cave" of stolen U2 memorabilia. Guess that means the band still hasn't found what it's looking for.





## DANCE FLOOR TOUCHDOWN

Even in satin shirts and sparkly shoes, EMMITT SMITH somehow managed to look manly during his stint on Dancing with the Stars. It helped that the three-time Super Bowl champ didn't just waltz through the competition. He shimmied, funkychickened and Hammer-timed his way to the trophy. All the same, sports fan Jimmy Kimmel felt compelled to ask Smith whether this was "the gayest thing" he had ever done. The all-time NFL rushing leader fired back: "It's only gay for guys who think they can be gay by doing it." (Translation-we think: I'm comfortable with my manhood, so I'm comfortable with my shirt.) Smith urged others to get out of their safety zone and try something new. But maybe not for too long. We notice he's not list ed among the Stars contest-

ants who will tour the country

James Poniewozik

## **Ugly, the American**

## On TV, the immigration wars aren't as simple as politicians make them sound

BW PRIME-TIME IV CHARACTERS ARE MORE AMERICAN THAN Betty Suarez. On ARC's hit comedy-soap Ugly Betty, she's a fashion-magazine assistant who is distinctly she's a fashion-magazine assistant who is distinctly marked by the state of the stat

And yet—if you listen to some politicians and pundits—she should have been booted out of the country years ago. Betty's father is an illegal immigrant from Mexico. To hear Lou Dobbs and Pat Buchann tell it, our fellow citizens are boiling with resentment against people like Betty. Taking our kids' spots in college! Helping themselves to our orthodontial Stealing low-paid magazine jobs that rightfully belong to American trust-fund babies!

So why do some 14 million people a week watch and root for her? Because it's easier to hate a straw man—or a straw Mexican than a person, even a fictional one. And because, as our pop culture shows, Americans' attitude

toward foreigners is more complex than the build-a-fencers would make it.

On its face, the political debate is about illegal immigration law, security and fairness. But this immigration panie, like past ones, taps into fears not limited to illegals. Who gets to say what American culture is? Is there enough room—and prosperity—to go around? Ugly Betty's overarching story is metaphorically about the same battle. Betty is an outsider at Mode magazine not just because she dresses badly but also because of things that have to do directly with her ethnicity. She grosses out her skinny, preening, (mostly) Anglo co-workers by bringing empanadas for lunch. Her features are broad and unmistakably Mesoamerican. (Ferrera is strikingly pretty in real life.) On her first day at work, she wears a hideous poncho with Guadala-Jabas emblazoned on it.

Betty's scheming co-workers resent her in the same way immigration demagogues do: she's an interloper. Yet she succeeds and even wins over some of her *Mode* enemies—for exactly that reason. Like generations of immigrants, legal or not, she brings fresh eyes, a tireless work ethic and a different perspective to revitalize a tired institution. (Like Borat, she's in the tradition of the outsider who helps America see itself.) Ironic, amid the effete fashionistas, that she's the one the audience identifies with as an everyday American.

It's no coincidence that *Ugly Betty* the series is itself an immigrant, a remake of a worldwide-sensation *telenocela* franchise. That's what makes our pop culture so vital: from TV to music to fashion, it is constantly transfused by foreigners who are

able to out-American Americans.

Take reality TV. It embodies everything there is to love and despise about this countryambition and greed, freespiritedness and vulgarity. boldness and shamelessness. But it is an American staple that was pioneered overseas, much like pizza and gunpowder. American Idol is British. Big Brother, Dutch. Survivor, Swedish and imported by Mark Burnett, a Brit. And every week on reality shows, Americans embrace foreigners with Emma Lazarene openness-Heidi Klum and Simon Cowell, East European and Latin hoofers on Dancing with the Stars. Mexican boxers on The Contender and a Sibe-

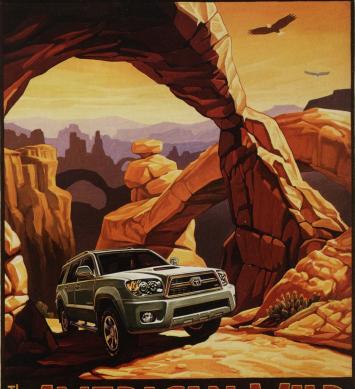


rian drag queen on America's Got Talent.

Reality TV may be so hospitable to immigrants because it's

a fun house mirror of the immigrant experience. You leave your comfort zone and prove your worth with little more than gumption and (maybe) talent. Wherever you come from, you embrace a new, anything-goes culture that values chutzpah over tradition and propriety. Emigré Burnett's shows, like The Apprentice, are full of Horatio Algerisms about industry and opportunity—not unlike Uigly Betty.

Political observers suggest that immigration law will be one of the areas where a Democratic Congress and a Republican White House may be able to reach consensus. Before they do, they should flick on a TV. They would see that you can pass laws and put up walls but it is much harder to erect a fence around your culture. (Just ask the French.) That while borders need to be protected, new blood is what makes this country the maddening, fantastic free-for-all that it is. And that what makes Betty ugdy is, in the long run, what makes us America the beautiful. Be



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